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T.R.B.

from Washington

The Spoiler

★ The husband of the Governor of Alabama has been in town preparing for his presidential run as a spoiler. We think you should take Wallace seriously. This fall the public is going to be jittery. The rising frustrations of the ghettos and the anti-Negro, so-what, attitude of the whites (*vide* Congress) are on a collision course. It's going to be a red hot election summer. Wallace may carry five or six states.

This means that one of the two conditions for throwing the presidential election into the House of Representatives is present. The first condition is for a strong third party. A Harris poll in January said Wallace would get 12 percent of the vote in a LBJ-Rocky three-man race. We don't for a minute believe that. Strom Thurmond got only 2.4 percent in 1948. But Thurmond carried four states. The shift of .6 percent of votes in two states would have put the election in the House.

We suspect the Wallace third party in 1968 is going to do better than that. So that fulfills the first condition.

The second condition is that the race between the two leading candidates is close. That's a *must*. The election goes into the House only if nobody gets an absolute majority of electoral votes (270 of the 538). If the winner gets an electoral landslide, of course, this won't happen. But if it is close, Wallace gets 50 electoral votes, say, (Thurmond got 39), then it's an unelection: the House gets it.

The public is slowly beginning to understand this and that if it goes to the House the vote is by states, one state, one vote – Alaska and California the same. Even many editorial writers begin to grasp this. But the crucial third point very few understand.

This is that the same circumstances that give the third party candidate (in this case Wallace) power to put it into the House *also probably give him the power to determine the outcome when it is in the House.* He has the marginal electors that prevent Messrs. Johnson or Rockefeller, say, from getting 270. And his possession of those electors automatically means that he controls, let's say, four to six states. Each state has one vote.

And that jolly joker, the US Constitution, plays its second funny prank; it requires, under Art. II, Sec. 1, that "a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice." In other words, *26 votes.* If Wallace controls four to six of them in a close contest (and if the electors are close, the distribution of states is apt to be close, too, though not necessarily), then Wallace sits pretty. If his states stay loyal he has the votes necessary. He can barter the Presidency. "No more civil rights laws, and you get the job!" he can tell LBJ or Rocky. (That bargain was struck in 1876, in the Tilden-Hayes contest.) What a joke it would be!

Who's for Crime?

★ This leads us to another subject, the President's attitude toward civil rights. Nowadays the annual January State of the Union speech is a kind of index for a series of special messages: a summary of all the goodies that are to come. Mr. Johnson has been getting these supplemental messages off at a great rate, Education, Economics, Travel Taxes, Consumer Safeguards, Crime and so on. The one big family resemblance is that they are long on promises short on cash.

We rather think Congress won't pass the travel tax; it is just one more of our freedoms which Vietnam is endangering. But what worries us is the so-called "riot control measure" in the crime program making it a federal offense, with punishment up to five years, for any person who travels across state lines with the *intent* (get that word, "intent") to incite or organize a riot. How in the world are you going to prove intent? Can you look into a man's mind? Except in a few cases we would regard this as patently unenforceable, and the Administration must know it when it proposes it. So why does it propose it? It's hard not to assume that it's for political purposes.

There are still some innocent people who believe in a crime wave. Most people by now know that you can cure crime the hard way, by improving social conditions – by supplying jobs so people can earn a living. There is also a very substantial amount of genuine crime, of course. And finally there are a good many nasty people who use the word "crime" to hide their racism.

If Nixon is nominated this summer he is more of a hawk than LBJ and the Vietnam issue might be cancelled out, in part. So the election could fall back on the secondary issue of civil disobedience, marches, riots and even ordinary crime. The big Detroit riot last summer turned into a squabble with Governor Romney in which the White House seemed more bent on making political capital than in sending assistance. Now this new interstate anti-riot proposal has a fine emotional ring to it and we suppose Congress may whoop it through. See, LBJ. can say, I'm against crime! It strikes us as being meaningless or quite dangerous.

★ *Notes:* The new New Nixon has got off to a professional start, flexible, relaxed, humorous, self-deprecatory; it would be a great mistake, we think, to underestimate him. . . . Romney, with characteristic moral intensity, has been saying some fine things about Vietnam: "We are going right down the road to World War III." . . . It does seem strange that Rusk goes on TV to discuss the war but won't testify publicly to the Fulbright committee; now the committee asks LBJ to "direct" Rusk to testify on the record. . . . The world swims with "gaps": LBJ, the credibility gap; Nixon, the novelty gap; Bobby Kennedy, the Camelot gap; Romney, the naughtiness gap; McCarthy, the bargain basement gap; Vietnam, the General Nguyen Giap.

Incorrigible Optimism Department: *Chicago Daily News* (editorial Feb. 5): "Viet Cong Gamble Fails. . . . The broad and carefully planned attacks represent a serious loss for the Viet Cong." Joseph Alsop (Feb. 2, *Washington Post*): "Red raids on cities are sign of weakness, not strength." Ho-hum.

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Misled, In Every Sense

Undersecretary of State Nicholas Katzenbach doesn't believe "that in any sense at all the Administration has misled the American people." In that case, it has been candid and truthful. Let us see. Start with the question of bombing North Vietnam. What are Washington's conditions for calling it off? A year ago this month, Lyndon Johnson informed Ho Chi Minh that he was "prepared to order a cessation of bombing against your country . . . as soon as I am assured that infiltration into South Vietnam by land and by sea has been stopped." That's straight-forward enough. Then came the "San Antonio formula," the current touchstone for Administration spokesmen. At San Antonio last September 29, Mr. Johnson said: "The US is willing immediately to stop aerial and naval bombardment of North Vietnam when this will lead promptly to productive discussion." The President went further: "while discussions proceed, North Vietnam would not take advantage of the bombing cessation or limitation." Was he offering a "cessation," or a "limitation," and what happened to stopping infiltration? Moreover, would it be taking advantage for Hanoi to continue assisting the Viet Cong? The latter question was put to the incoming Secretary of Defense, Clark Clifford, whose version of the matter was that "their military activity will continue in South Vietnam [not stopped, and irrespective of productive discussions following promptly] until there is a ceasefire agreed upon. I assume that they will continue to transport the normal amount of goods, munitions, men to South Vietnam." "Normal" as of when?

Putting aside the central questions of whether the bombing has sapped enemy morale, seriously slowed down infiltration or critically affected the North's capacity to carry on the war (to which the answer in each case is no), have we in recent weeks changed our bombing policy? "Have we at any time since August," Mr. Katzenbach was asked on February 4, "actually stopped the bombing and after the cessation of bombing informed Hanoi that we are in a bombing pause?" "No," he replied, which was accurate, but not candid. For a half hour later, on national television, Secretary Rusk disclosed that, "We have exercised some restraint in our bombing in North Vietnam during this period of exploration, particularly in the immediate vicinity of Hanoi and Haiphong. . . . Hanoi knows this. We have limited the bombing to certain points in order to make it somewhat easier to carry forward these explorations, so that the particularly difficult incident would not interrupt them."

What is the future of the US military presence in Vietnam?

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At the Manila conference, Mr. Johnson pledged that we would withdraw our forces within six months after the North had withdrawn its troops from the South. Well, the Secretary of Defense-designate told interrogating Senators we would withdraw when "all infiltration ceases." Or is Mr. Katzenbach right: it will be done when "the level of violence subsides?"

Whose war is this basically, and how much are the Saigon-affiliated Vietnamese doing for themselves? The casualty lists are impressive, and ghastly. But can we be impressed, as is Secretary Rusk, by "the dogged determination of all these major elements in South Vietnam not to accept what Hanoi is trying to impose on them by force?" What of quite a few elements which want to ditch Thieu and Ky and make peace with their countrymen? That is passed off by Mr. Rusk as easily as the unwillingness of major elements in Saigon to draft 18- and 19-year-old South Vietnamese.

Do we now know why, in Mr. Katzenbach's words, the South Vietnamese people "didn't rally to the side of their government" when it was under massive attack? He finds solace in the observation that they "didn't rally to the side of the VC. They just tried to take cover and let military and the police cope with the situation, as they are doing." A February dispatch from Saigon in *The New York Times*, however, reported that "the South Vietnamese police did not appear to have taken much of a role in the fight for the [US] Embassy, or to have impeded the infiltration of guerrilla units into the downtown area." When the Viet Cong firecracker went off, Mr. Katzenbach acknowledges, "the Vietnamese government was mostly home for Tet." Was that because they did not anticipate the danger? No. "We have known for several months now," according to Mr. Johnson, "that the communists planned a massive winter-spring offensive. We have detailed information on Ho Chi Minh's order governing the offensive. Part of it is called a general uprising." We knew, Secretary McNamara adds, of their "planned attacks on the cities and towns, particularly the district headquarters and province capitals in the 44 provinces." Was the intelligence not forwarded to our allies? Or is forewarned not forearmed in this weird war? And is the reason the recent offensive came "as something of a shock," (Mr. Katzenbach) "because it is very hard to penetrate a communist organization to get that kind of intelligence?" Or should we favor, instead, Secretary Rusk's cool explanation that, "there are some people in South Vietnam who are grumpy, as there are a few people here who are grumpy, because somehow it was not possible to give them complete protection against what has happened in the last few days."

"Peace feeler? I could have sworn it was a snake."

It was also not possible to protect Ambassador Goldberg from misleading the UN. On January 26 he informed the Security Council: "I want to lay to rest some intonations that the *Pueblo* had intruded upon the territorial waters and was pulling away from territorial waters, and that the North Korean ships were in hot pursuit. This is not the case at all." Not the case until nine days later, when Secretary McNamara for some new reasons of high policy, said something quite different: "We can't say beyond the shadow of a doubt, at no time during its voyage it [the *Pueblo*] entered North Korean waters. . . . There was a period of radio silence appropriate to its mission from the period of roughly January 10 to January 21 [the ship was seized January 23], and it is in this period that we lack knowledge and will not be able to obtain knowledge of that until the crew and the commander are released."

Six years have gone by since Mr. McNamara assured us that "every quantitative measurement we have shows we're winning this war." (Qualitative measurements are not his department.) A year has passed since the President, in San Antonio, said that "the grip of the Viet Cong on the people is being broken." The prophecies are as discredited as the policies they serve. We are, in James Reston's phrase, "the flies that captured the flypaper."

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Back to Korea

The US is at odds with its ally, South Korea, for negotiating for the return of the Navy spy ship *Pueblo* and its crew that North Korea captured January 23. The National Assembly in Seoul last week denounced "secret meetings" between North Korean and American officials. There was talk of recalling 50,000 South Korean troops from South Vietnam, as well as the South Korean ambassador from Washington. The South Koreans said indignantly that getting back the *Pueblo* and its men was less important to them than punishing North Korea for trying to assassinate South Korean President Park Chung-Hee in Seoul January 21. How North Korea was to be punished wasn't made clear. But the North has stepped up its forays into the South, and the South Koreans fume that South Korean soldiers in their own country have to get along with old World War II M-1 rifles, whereas American troops in Korea have M-16 automatic rifles, as do South Koreans fighting in South Vietnam. It's bitterly concluded that the US deems Koreans expendable and rates South Vietnam above South Korea.

The South Koreans dread American neglect; the North Koreans fear an American attack. George Romney, Melvin Laird, Richard Nixon and communist news services all point out that the North Koreans repeatedly warned this country, from early January on, that action would be taken against the *Pueblo* if it continued eavesdropping off the North Korean coast. The North Koreans have been waiting for the other shoe to fall since President Johnson said at the Korean DMZ line in October 1966 that wars like Vietnam might have to be fought elsewhere in Asia. General Bonesteel last February, in an attempt to reassure the South, affirmed the South Korean Army's great fighting power; the North read this as a threat.

North Korea is scared, too, of growing ties between South Korea and Japan and alleges increasing violations of its territorial waters and air space by Americans and South Koreans. (The South points to increasing raids by North Korean bands into the South.)

North Korea has 12.5 million people to the South's 29 million, and only about half the South's armed forces strength. Additionally, of course, the South has the protection of US 5th Air Force bases, two American infantry divisions and a US missile command. The North Korean government of Premier Kim Il-Sung is currently isolated in the communist world, having purged both the pro-Soviet and pro-Chinese politicians. Russia cut off aid, and the Chinese Red Guards attacked Kim Il-Sung and his associates as revisionists. In the light of these facts, the seizure of the *Pueblo* looks more like desperation than audacity, intended perhaps to gain North Korea some badly needed communist sympathy for defying the American giant and for appearing to do something to help North Vietnam. (To Kim Il-Sung's shame, no North Koreans are fighting in Vietnam). The almost simultaneous attack on President Park's palace in Seoul was doubtless intended to push the South off balance, which it did.

There are lessons in all this. In Korea as elsewhere, nationalism, not communism, is the main driving force. The South deeply resents its dependence on this country. The North paid a heavy price to end its dependence on its two giant communist neighbors. These small, intensely nationalistic countries may prove a good deal more dangerous to peace than larger nations. It is hard to believe that either Moscow or Peking would have risked as much as Pyongyang did by seizing the *Pueblo*. This country, too, because of its enormous armed strength, needs to move with utmost caution, ever seeking to resolve disputes and soften acerbities by conciliation. Just the opposite of sending a Navy spy ship up and down the North Korean coast.

Discover America

A government engrossed in global adventurism of the most destructive sort, and which castigates its critics for their "isolationism," has hatched a plan to keep us all cooped up in this hemisphere. The only substantial number of Americans outside this continent, ideally, would be servicemen.

The travel restrictions outlined by Secretary of the Treasury Henry Fowler are absurd and an indignity. Those with means to travel abroad can pay the nuisance taxes. But the proposed new regulations are so complicated, so hard to understand, that they may have a dampening effect on the travel-minded.

It has been suggested that Arthur Frommer, who has made a mint with his travel-on-five-dollars-a-day books, will be the principal beneficiary of the plan to impose a heavy tax on expenditures abroad over $7 a day (15 percent tax on the next $8; 30 percent on spending over $15) and a five percent tax on transportation. Travelers would have to declare the money and travelers checks they are taking with them and do the same on their return. They would have to submit to having their money, as well as their baggage, gone through by customs agents. (The tricky tourist could, of course, go first to Canada, then to Europe.) Foreign merchants who have willingly put their "gift, under ten dollars" stamp on more expensive merchandise so as to accommodate avaricious grafters who want to send themselves souvenirs without paying duty would have to change the stamp to "under one dollar." (Everything over $10 will be taxed at 25 percent.)

The restrictions have met with bipartisan distaste in Congress, horror in the travel business, and rebel-

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lion among the spunky. Said one rebellious lady to *The Washington Post:* "There's nothing to see in this country; it's all the same, except for a few big cities. It's all little towns with front porches. Don't ask me about that man. It's too awful. If he'd bring one division back from Germany, it would pay more than enough. He's not going to curtail me one bit."

LBJ and Drug Traffic

The President has shown himself somewhat more enlightened than officials of his own Narcotics Bureau. In last week's narcotics message, Mr. Johnson carefully avoided calling marijuana a narcotic; he said it is a hallucinogen. He recognized as well that drug laws for LSD and marijuana possession and sale are a hodge-podge, and he acknowledged the senseless overlap of FDA agents with limited jurisdiction working the same ground as narcotics agents similarly constrained by laws telling them which drugs they can touch and which they can't. So far so good.

But the President's proposal for policing drug traffic amounts to little more than bureaucratic reshuffling. The Narcotics Bureau and the Bureau of Drug Abuse Control will be lifted whole from their respective cabinet departments and handed to the Justice Department. Three hundred Narcos and 300 Abuse Men will form a single strengthened force of 600 agents. To them Johnson would add 200 more. No one knows whether the new combined agency will have FDA's tepid medical bias or Treasury's criminal one.

Mr. Johnson said nothing last week about eliminating entrapment, coaxing minors to sell drugs to agents who arrest them – a widespread practice that does more to corrupt youth than to inhibit drug traffic.

How would LBJ eliminate the inconsistent drug laws? Would he give marijuana hallucinogen status, reduce federal penalties for possession (now two to 10 years) to bring them into line with the Narcotics Bureau's supposed policy that sellers, not users, are what the government is after? No. He proposes to make the sale of LSD a felony (it is now a misdemeanor) and possession a misdemeanor (it is not now a federal crime). Finally, Mr. Johnson has charged the National Commission on Reform of the Federal Criminal Laws to make another study of drug legislation. The Crime Commission did last year. One of its conclusions: "There . . . appears to be good reason to moderate present punitive legislation so that [marijuana] penalties are more in keeping with what is now known about risks; that is, they are not great."

Meanwhile, the New York State Senate last week voted to make the sale of marijuana to a minor punishable by life imprisonment.

Everlasting Hayden

Early in January, the polling firm of John Kraft took a reading in Arizona that found Sen. Carl Hayden (D), now 90, running ahead of ex-Sen. Barry Goldwater by 46 to 42 percent, with 12 percent undecided. When asked if he plans to seek another term Hayden replied: "Why not? The poll shows I can beat him."

Equally important in this race is the fate of the Central Arizona Project, which Senator Hayden has pushed for years. Last year, he once again moved it through the Senate and then threatened to try to bypass the House Interior Committee if necessary to get a vote in the other body. As a result, Chairman Wayne Aspinall (D) of the House committee agreed to hearings early this year (they were held the last week in January) and the mark-up of the bill in the House committee is now set to start February 26.

Stripped from the compromise bill under consideration are the dams on the Grand Canyon that are so offensive to conservation groups. At the same time, Senator Hayden has told conservation leaders that if they help him push his bill through, he will offer a bill to enlarge the boundaries of Grand Canyon National Park to include the upstream site originally proposed for Marble Canyon Dam. If he can get this project, stalled for years by the fierce Arizona-California water dispute, through the 90th Congress, the 12 percent might find it easier to make a decision.

Clergy in Politics

Sen. Eugene McCarthy told upwards of 10,000 students at UCLA last month that the war in Vietnam offers "a special challenge to the moral leaders of this country because the problems of the war are essentially now moral ones." To carry this one step further, his own candidacy now offers a special challenge to clergy and laymen to translate their own moral indignation over Vietnam into effective political action, inasmuch as this is the only way to effect long-term changes in the policies of this country. Yet most clergy have traditionally shied away from such participation.

But if last week's meeting in Washington of 2,000 members of Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam is indicative, these leaders are now ready, in large numbers, to get involved at a precinct level. Hundreds turned out for a workshop on "Politics '68" to hear such activists as Allard Lowenstein, a founder of the Conference of Concerned Democrats; Duff Reed, aide to Sen. Thruston Morton (R, Ky.); and Sanford Gottlieb of SANE, urge an activist role within both parties. The majority of participants in the conference favor McCarthy's candidacy.

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Whose Safety in the Streets?

If you were getting out of your car in the street, shortly after midnight, and two armed men wearing civilian clothes *and fezes*, but claiming to be police officers, suddenly accosted you, what would you do? Probably take to your heels.

Don't do any such thing in Dayton, Ohio. It may be fatal, especially if you're a pipe smoker, like Robert Elwood Barbee. The cop who killed Barbee was wearing a fez to disguise his identity as a member of the vice squad. Dayton was having a Shriners convention. The officer claimed he thought Barbee, a Negro, was carrying a gun. But upon examining the victim, the "weapon" turned out to be a pipe. By then the unarmed Barbee was dead.

The policeman, Detective Robert S. Collier, a white ex-Marine, was acquitted of manslaughter by an all-white jury of six men and six women. It took them four hours to decide, but a member of the jury disclosed afterward that this was because one juryman stubbornly held out that long. The decision to acquit Collier was reached even though the policeman confessed on the stand that after the fatal shooting he went home and got a gun which he pretended was Barbee's.

The shooting, last September, provoked two days of rioting in Dayton. Collier's acquittal, January 22, touched off more protests. Demonstrators carried signs reading "Dayton needs police officers, not executioners." They distributed handbills saying, "This racist city must decide whether it wants to treat black human beings with dignity or whether it wants to be destroyed."

A Dayton organization, naming itself FORCE (Freedom, Opportunity, Responsibility and Equality), called on Attorney General Ramsey Clark for action; the President's National Commission on Civilian Disorders is investigating the case. But according to evidence at Collier's trial, Barbee was so light-skinned nobody who didn't know him could have guessed he was a Negro. He was killed not because he was black, but because he ran away from two men wearing fezes, and because he was what police called "casually dressed."

It was stated at the trial that Collier and Detective David L. Michael saw Barbee get out of his car and lock it. Barbee wore a T-shirt and slacks and carried a sports jacket. He had a pipe tucked in the top of his trousers (and another in his jacket pocket). The fez-wearers advanced. Barbee looked at them, turned and ran. Collier called on him to halt, then pulled a .38 and shot the victim in the back and neck. Barbee, dying, asked the men why they had done it. The answer, according to Collier, was because they mistook his pipe for a "concealed weapon." After handcuffing the dead or dying Barbee and rolling him over, they discovered the object in his waistband was not what they had thought. Collier left Michael and the corpse, went to his own home and returned with *another* .38. He then claimed he had taken it off Barbee. Actually, it was a gun that had been confiscated in a raid and never turned in.

Barbee "was not a fleeing felon and was not committing any unlawful act when he was shot and killed," the prosecutor said. But Common Pleas Judge Robert L. McBride told the jury that while Collier's "false report" about Barbee having a gun could be considered a "circumstance" in determining Collier's guilt, the policeman at the time of the shooting needed only "probable cause" to believe that Barbee did carry a concealed weapon.

After his acquittal Collier resigned from the force, saying he did so "out of a feeling of duty to my community." He added, "I have enjoyed my association with the Dayton police department and feel I have served that department with complete dedication." The Reverend Lawrence Stumme, a Lutheran pastor, told Dayton demonstrators, "Last September an innocent man was shot in the back and in January the man and the system responsible were exonerated." The police department is now checking on the propriety of police going about in disguise.

Jobs for Minorities

New York State's law forbidding job discrimination dates back to 1945. But the Negro and Puerto Rican still have a very tough time competing for jobs, especially in New York City where they now number 28 percent of the population. If they are competing for white collar work, as the US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission brought out in four days of recent hearings, their chances are slim. The Commission found that as of 1966, Negroes accounted for 6.3 percent of all white collar jobs in New York City (among employers with 100 or more workers, or 50 or more among those with government contracts of at least $50,000). And the poor Puerto Ricans made up a lowly 3.1 percent.

The figures are staggering when it is realized there are more than 800,000 white collar workers in the city; that New York is the heartland of international big business; that there is always a shortage of clerical workers, salesmen, and managerial types; that City University alone has 15,500 Negroes and Puerto Rican students. Among six major banks in New York, two have been able to find 33 qualified Negro managers; four have none. Chase Manhattan Bank's David

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Rockefeller made a good case for his company's "aggressive" efforts to recruit and train minorities. But by and large the response was shocking. Some of the examples:

Commission Chairman Clifford L. Alexander Jr. had made the point that until two months ago not one Negro could be found in any capacity on the floor of the New York Stock Exchange. He turned to George Doty, managing partner of Goldman, Sachs & Company, and asked how long Doty had been with the brokerage industry?

Doty: Three years.

Alexander: Did it ever come to mind that a large segment of the population was not represented on the floor of the New York Stock Exchange?

Doty: I didn't realize it until the fact was mentioned today here.

Bristol Myers (4.5 percent of whose white collar workers are nonwhite) told of "cooperating with the Urban League in recruiting Negro girls in better positions. . . . Eight came to work. . . . We've tried to create a feeling that minorities have opportunity."

Q: What has been the result?

A: We have hired Negroes from these efforts. One division reported that it increased by three people the number of Negroes in its sales force.

Q: How many Negroes do you have in sales nationally?

A: Twenty. . . .

Q: You would fire a salesman who couldn't sell wouldn't you; how about those [personnel officials] who can't produce equal employment opportunities?

A: That is not a real parallel. . . .

Eastern Air Lines, which talked about "appreciable strides," acknowledged it had one Negro pilot out of 816 in New York, 42 flight attendants out of 703, 14 Negro and Spanish-American clerical employees out of 416.

The New York Times had only three Negro reporters (out of 200), one Negro out of 220 at the managerial level, and no Puerto Rican reporters or officials.

Q: Do you consider yourself a leader in your industry?

A: . . . Possibly.

Q: I would hope that your leadership would extend to the area of equal employment opportunities.

At the end of the four days, there was some possibility that public humiliation might move business firms to do more. But the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has little in the way of enforcement powers. The state and city human rights commissions do – if they are willing to use them decisively.

Holding Back a Tax

The American Telephone and Telegraph Company collects nearly a billion dollars each year in federal excise tax from 48 million telephone users in the United States. The tax money represents 10 percent of a phone subscriber's bill (exclusive of installation charges) and is considered a war tax. (Telephone excise taxes were to have been phased out by 1969 but were reinstated in 1966 because of the war. House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Wilbur Mills said at the time that "it is clear that the Vietnam and only the Vietnam operation makes [the tax] necessary.") Refusal to pay one's telephone tax, therefore, could be taken as a direct protest against the war, and as such, is simpler than other forms of tax refusal.

Protesting involves merely deducting the tax itemized on one's phone bill and sending a note of explanation to the local phone company with the remainder. Unpaid taxes are not carried over to subsequent bills, and phone service is not terminated by phone companies, which are merely collection agencies for the government and stand to lose no money of their own by being permissive. AT&T and its subsidiaries have been so unzealous to collect the 10 percent tax that in one instance a man who inadvertently paid the excise tax one month, after several months of refusal, reportedly got a call from Bell asking him if he hadn't made some mistake.

Phone companies, nevertheless, are required to report nonpayment to the Internal Revenue Service. IRS then sends protesters a letter informing them of their delinquency. If there is no response, the letter is followed by a second, which is followed by an IRS agent. IRS says it collects the unpaid taxes a dollar or two at a time. If a protester refuses to pay the agent, his wages or bank account may be attached for the amount owed. The War Resisters League in New York, which has a file of 1,100 phone-tax refusers, says that the taxes are not collected in all cases. In at least one instance a New York man has not been approached at all by IRS after more than a year of tax nonpayment.

The idea for phone-tax refusal apparently began with Karl Meyer of the Committee for Nonviolent Action in Chicago in the summer of 1966. The practice still cannot be said to be widespread: only about 3,000 people are reported delinquents. Nonpayers are in violation of Section 7203 of the Internal Revenue Code (a misdemeanor punishable by a fine of up to $10,000 and/or a year in prison) but prosecution of 3,000 cases would glut the courts and provide valuable publicity for the antiwar movement. The Justice Department – derelict in its duty? – admits that no prosecutions have been undertaken.

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Why Were the Air Reservists Called Up?

In ordering nearly 15,000 Air Reservists to active military duty late last month, President Johnson didn't say precisely why the dramatic move was made. The first the public – and the civilian Reservists involved – knew of the partial mobilization was a terse White House announcement, issued early Thursday, January 25. It was, just the same, the biggest call-up since the so-called Berlin Crisis of 1961. Affected were 28 units belonging to the Air Force and Navy Reserves and Air National Guard units. No ground units were involved.

Lacking an official explanation, political observers played with the theory that Pentagon officials were anxious to beef up our air power, badly strained by demands of the Vietnam war.

But the costly mobilization hasn't improved our military potential all that much, particularly in terms of air transportation. The reason for this is that the Air Force Reserve airlift squadrons called up were already operating under Military Airlift Command (MAC) control and, in fact, have been ever since the US buildup in Vietnam. The Pentagon isn't likely to get much more out of the 46 old propeller-driven transport planes mobilized than it already does.

It's true, that the airlift units were manned mainly by part-time fliers. But the outfits have long since been required by the Pentagon to increase sharply the number of "training flights" made each month.

Flights were specifically ordered to American bases in South Vietnam, Thailand, Japan and Formosa. Other "training" missions involved the Reservists taking their planes to West Coast bases to meet jet transports bringing wounded men back from the war fronts. The injured men were transferred to the reserve planes to be ferried to hospitals around the country. The technique freed long-range Boeing 707 and Lockheed C-141 jet transports to turn around quickly and speed back across the Pacific with high priority cargo and men.

Similarly, the Reservists before January 25, flew cargo pickups around the US, then hauled goods to aerial ports and also made runs to Alaska and Europe, again freeing regular US Air Force and military contract planes for high-speed runs.

Reserve units obviously couldn't operate on the old one-weekend-a-month schedule and answer the Pentagon's "request" for such help. They needed crews available on a regular basis. The Pentagon helped out by allocating extra funds to pay Reservists to go onto active duty more regularly than required. Fliers who owned their own businesses or were either self-employed or in a position to get away for a week or more, volunteered for this extra duty. Others, with relatively low-paying jobs, found it profitable as well as patriotic, to volunteer for 89-day stints on active duty (the maximum permitted Reservists ordinarily). After completing one of these 89-day turns, the man would take a day off, and then come back to sign in again for a repeat.

Providing other necessary help for the Air Force and Air National Guard organizations were small cadres of regular, full-time employees, mostly maintenance men but some fliers and unit commanders. In the case of the Guard, such technicians were paid from state funds; employees of Air Force Reserve units were regular US civil service employees. Generally, a transport squadron had about 100 or 150 of these full-time men who provided daily maintenance and administrative continuity for the flying squadrons.

The combination of these technicians and volunteers permitted many air transport units to operate at a high rate of efficiency for the past two years. It was, then, five of these air transport groups that were involved in the January call-up. Each such group has around 900 men and is composed of various support squadrons as well as the one flying squadron. Whether or not the military service can now wring any more flying out of these same squadrons by surrounding them with all sorts of administrative help is doubtful. Yet nearly 5,000 men of the total 14,787 men mobilized are assigned to these few airlift outfits.

Typical is the 941st Military Airlift Group at McCord Air Force Base near Tacoma, Washington. Last year, it was just another Reserve unit with its 150 full-time technicians and its volunteer Reservists. Just the same, the outfit's eight old C-124 Globemaster planes put in 82 overseas missions, some lasting 10 days. In the year, the outfit flew 466,000 passenger miles while flying 4.3 million ton miles of cargo.

But now the outfit is on active duty and has 900 men – cooks, clerks, supply men, training sergeants, and all sorts of other military occupations. Where one lone sergeant formerly ran a section, there's now a captain, assisted by a staff of noncommissioned officers and other enlisted men. Whether the work output expands by the same proportion is highly unlikely.

The situation is pretty well duplicated down at Hamilton Air Force Base near San Francisco. There, the 938th Military Airlift Group was activated, also with about 900 men. Included in their ranks are men to run the dispensary and mess halls as well as offices and supply rooms. But the air crews who fly the outfit's eight planes are about the same ones who did be-

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fore and the maintenance crews are the same technicians, now also on active duty.

Last year, the squadron flew 6,800 tons of cargo, 7,200 passengers and more than 11,000 hours, many of these also halfway around the world to various trouble spots.

It's possible that the Pentagon can, in the future, reequip these newly mobilized transport units with new planes. That would give the services greater airlift potential. But in terms of emergency duty now, the five squadrons on active duty feel it's pretty much business as usual.

Says one officer, "We'll do a little more flying now than we did before. Otherwise, things are just about normal." Asked about the difference between the situation now on active duty and on reserve status, another notes: "We're separated from our families."

NORMAN SKLAREWITZ

The Turn to Violence

At almost midnight, three Negro boys walked silently through an alley near a furniture store. Bricks in hand, they looked up and down the well-lighted street, threw the bricks through two large plate-glass windows and ran like scared rabbits.

"I feel better now," one said when they slowed to a trot several blocks away. "We got even with that peckerwood," another said.

The place was Kansas City, Kansas. The time was before World War II, and I was one of the boys.

Our neighborhood was not a slum or ghetto. It was quiet, with grassy lawns and single-family homes. Strong father-figures and male breadwinners were in each of our homes. We played with neighborhood white boys nearly every day. Our grandparents had been in the North since the 1880s. My mother was a public schoolteacher and church organist.

Why did we strictly reared boys of the so-called middle class suddenly and deliberately violate firm rules that had been pounded into us at home, at school and at church?

We didn't really know. We told ourselves we were "getting even." That white merchant was advertising mattresses by showing life-size paintings of plantation "niggers" happily picking cotton and eating watermelon. We had asked him to remove them and he laughed, calling us a word we never heard before – "pickaninnies."

We couldn't explain to ourselves why on Halloween night we felt relieved after we had ruined that merchant's front door, painted insults on his windows and dumped more paint on new lumber piled behind his store. We were proud of ourselves when later we saw his white truck driver try to deliver a load of furniture we had ordered to an address in the middle of Big Eleven Lake. "Stupid . . . stupid," one of us said, as the driver stared into the deep water.

If these were the tumultuous feelings of three middle-class, carefully disciplined, Northern-bred Negro boys, what extremes are possible when the Negro is poverty-plagued, ghetto-bound, educationally handicapped, self-hating, racially humiliated, frustrated?

After the riots in Negro ghettos during the last three summers, I visited Harlem, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Chicago and East St. Louis, talking with people. Listening to their explanations and justifications for the violence, I could see that they – like we three teen-agers in Kansas City – had experienced a badly needed sort of therapy. The rioter *does* gain self-esteem by publicly playing the role of a bold, uncompromising fellow whom others fear. (Example from Philadelphia: "I felt free – 'born again' – after I saw what I had done.")

They were rejecting too a Calvinist Doctrine (Predestination), a Protestant Ethic (prayer and hard work solve all problems) and white men's values. Unable to achieve "manhood" and equality in a racially biased value system, the rioter rejects the system as a whole and adopts rules consonant with *his* aspirations. (Chicago: "The white man made the rules and then dealt himself all the aces. To hell with him.")

Symbols of that white power – the police and the exploiting merchants – have to be dishonored, and in the presence of one's peers. (Example from Harlem: "Hell yes, and I'm glad I did it. . . . I cleaned him good. Blue eyes has been robbing and killing us with the law on his side. Got to get rid of him before we can get ourselves straight." Listeners agreed.)

In looting, rioters were taking "part payment" for nearly 250 years of slave labor and 100 years of discriminatory jobs and wages. (Brooklyn: "I was just taking what belongs to one of my great-grandparents.") (From Philadelphia: "They owe us a hell of a lot more than we took.") Society got the message – and was meant to. (Chicago: "I'm sick of all this crap about violence in the streets. Where I come from a black son-of-a-bitch ain't safe from the white bastards even at home or in church, let alone the damned streets." (Harlem: "Yes we're mad and we want them to know it. We need to burn the whole damned thing

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down – or blow it up – and get a new start!")

The knowledge that frustration breeds aggression is old and worldwide. The Matsushita Electrical Company of Osaka, Japan, has set up a "human control room" into which an angry or frustrated employee is urged to go, grab a bamboo stick and beat effigies of his bosses until his anger has subsided. The smiling effigies are labeled with the names of supervisors.

We've seen this frustration-aggression pattern again and again in America. When Nat Turner, a half-literate Negro preacher, led 75 freedom-seeking slaves in revolt, killing 55 whites, he and 16 of his followers were executed – following which mobs of whites took revenge by killing more than 100 innocent slaves and free Negroes.

In 1863, after President Lincoln had drafted more New York City men for the Union Army, hundreds of white men raged through town, robbing stores and sacking and burning buildings. Many Negroes, including women and children, were beaten to death or hanged to lamp posts. Deaths were estimated at from 400 to 2,000. Eight years later, 33 persons were killed during riots of the Irish in New York.

But my concern here is the black man, whose whole American experience has been dominated by violence. He was enslaved, emancipated, disfranchised, segregated and suppressed – all by violence or the threat of it. For years the lynchings (nearly 4,000 since 1889 – principally of Negroes), church bombings, street murders, Klan floggings and burnings generally went unpunished. No loud outcry welled up over the nation! Not then!

Now some people have the effrontery to wonder why the black man turns to violence!

JAMES E. ALSBROOK

California Styles

Getting Away From It All Down on the Hog Farm

Los Angeles

From the *Sunland-Tujunga Record Ledger* ("The Voice of Verdugo Hills"): "Riverwood residents wonder about recurring rumors of communist plans for the total destruction of Los Angeles and neighboring communities by violence and fire on a magnified Watts scale. They wonder if these people are a Red Trojan Horse in their midst."

The "Red Trojan Horse" is the Hog Farm, a hippie *kibbutz* planted on a peak in the scraggly San Gabriels which separate the Mojave Desert from the real estate tracts, R&D, and sanitariums of Sunland.

Accommodating a rising population of dropouts, there are a dozen-odd communes in California reminiscent of the transcendentalist community-farms of the 19th century, rather like Unitarian monasteries. These hippie "tribes" (as the "underground press" calls them) are at once retreats for hippies fed up with the underground press, the label and stylized games of Haight-Ashbury and the Sunset Strip, as well as laboratories for gurus in search of new highs to replace old institutions. Besides the head drugs, Oriental religions (often à la Leary, often scholarly) are popular.

While most of the communes are located in traditional Bohemia further north in California – Mill Valley, Big Sur – the Hog Farm has flourished in the less agreeable south. For over a year the farm has managed to weather narcotics busts, local embargoes precipitated by throwaway weeklies and neighbors, and anarchy. Hog Farm has accumulated 40 men and women – a large population for a commune, which depends on limited numbers for success. Some are refugees from other communes. All are over the legal age of 18. Of the dozen over 21 only a few are registered to vote (Peace and Freedom Party); politics is considered futile or irrelevant. Most of the men have had military service, or have otherwise legally resolved their draft situations. Six of the couples are married; two within the farm. For some, the commune is a halfway house. At least 12 people are always working in the city, commute and turn over their salaries to the farm. The farmers are not roughing it. There is a cesspool and a shower, occasional gas-generated electricity and a telephone.

The 33 acres of unfarmed Hog Farm property is lent – pending its sale – rent free by a local earth-moving contractor who raised pigs in his spare time. Finding he could not keep up with efficient vandals or the $600 annual property tax, he allowed the four founding farmers to mind the land, the farmhouse and the remaining hogs and non-lactating goats. They voluntarily pay the taxes.

One of the founders and the "spiritual leader" is Hugh Romney, 31, formerly a therapist in the California State College program for neurologically handicapped children. Actual leadership of the commune is on a daily rotation with each adult taking turns as "dance master." Says Romney: "With 40 people living together, you've *got* to dance or you step on somebody's hand." At first the Hog Farm, like most of the communes, was without organization or rules. It be-

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came clear, said one resident, "that we needed structure. True freedom is not lack of organization. We started having meetings. People would get excited; necessary things would get done. When we started the dance master thing, a few screamed 'fascism!' But it worked: responsibility is essential."

The dance master is a coordinator, responsible for seeing that housekeeping gets done by somebody who *wants* to do it. He also sees to the foraging of the day's food. Staples are either purchased cheaply at a local mill ($10 buys 100 pounds of rice) or by "garbage runs." A couple of times a week a party of farmers browse through the heaps of ripe vegetables and fruits which the supermarkets, by law, must throw away.

The perpetually tentative rules are: (1) no dope in the house, (2) hard narcotics users are not tolerated because of foreign legal hazards and domestic anti-social effects, and (3) runaways are not given sanctuary. "The kids seem to think this is the underground railroad to San Francisco: we have to watch out." Property is public; there is a "free store" of clothes in an abandoned Buick.

All gripes and proposals (such as, ought reporters from *The New Republic* be allowed to stay a week) are brought up at regular meetings. Besides their suggestion-box democracy, the meetings have a spiritual ("The Hog Farm is the holiest place I've ever been") function. Held in a small geodesic dome of parachute and wooden dowling, the meeting is used to reinforce the group purpose, which one girl calls "teaching each other how to be a group brain." Two group meditation techniques are practiced. One, Gong Bong, is more or less group hyperventilation (Yoga). The other is called "The Circle Joke," a sort of choir-seance – eyes closed, hands held, Indian-squatting in a circle. The Circle Joke gives each participant the sensation that everyone is moving together, everyone leading, plus the realization that each individual is doing something entirely unique.

However difficult it usually is to ferret a specific philosophy out of the hippie movement, the Hog Farm's is manifest. "We all stand up on our own two feet but as one person," says Romney, "we depend on things to go wrong to learn. It's exhilarating even when the Androids (local hoods who periodically pillage the farm) go on the rampage." Over the summer the *Record-Ledger* carried a photograph of one of the farm's hogs gazing at an American flag flapping over a pig pen. Offended, neighboring ranchers manned a roadblock with armed locals on the only access to the commune at the time, a private road. The only attempt to penetrate the siege occurred when an injured cat needed a vet. After much pondering, the *vopos* allowed them through, followed the hippies and checked to see if they paid the bill. They did. A forestry road was cleared and is now used by the hog farmers.

Though on a day-to-day basis, the Hog Farm has one plan. A school bus, purchased by two of the residents and put into running condition, is being outfitted with bunks. Over the summer the commune will be put on wheels and travel. Other than that the future, as well as the past, is largely ignored. The farm is considered a success by its residents. It will be discarded when "it no longer feels good."

NEAL WHITE

How Not to Give To the Politicians

For more than two years the Internal Revenue Service has been quietly nosing around the books of advertising, public relations and law firms thought to act as conduits for illegally tax-deducted contributions to political candidates. The practice in question is very simple. A corporation wants to make a contribution to a candidate. So that the money can be tax deducted it is channeled through an advertising agency which gives the contributor a receipt "for services rendered," then deducts an amount sufficient to pay its own tax bill on this "income" before passing what remains along to the candidate. A variant of this practice is for the business contributor to pay a candidate's bills with an ad agency, printer, billboard company, etc., as if the businessman had incurred the bills himself. He again has a receipt to support a tax deduction.

The candidate involved is presumably untainted since he cannot be expected to know, or care, whether a contributor is attempting a tax dodge. He's got the money and someday he'll return the favor but, for the moment, it is not for him to ask questions. He would prefer not to know. The donor for his part gets a tax break, and the US Treasury unwittingly subsidizes the campaign with taxpayers' money. The time-honored practice is patently illegal – under the Internal Revenue Code – although very difficult to detect.

Internal Revenue officials insist that they are unaffected by political considerations and pursue cases without regard to party or President. In other words, it is not just Republicans that they are after. But in fact IRS doesn't seem to be after anyone very hard. None of the cases investigated in the past two years have been turned over to the Justice Department for prosecution; no candidates have been named; and the practice persists. *The New Republic* has learned on good authority that the Internal Revenue Service is

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currently sitting on a thousand such tax swindle cases involving contributions to some of the most familiar public officeholders in the country – at local, state and national levels. In this election year IRS is in no hurry to turn them over to Justice for prosecution. If the cases ever hatch it will be some time after the November elections.

IRS denies that the figure of 1,000 cases is accurate. Officials admit – and this is a new admission – to 130 current investigations throughout the country involving contributions to politicians. Joseph Rosapepe, IRS director of public information, refuses to specify the cases, not, he says, out of political considerations but rather because he does not want to try the cases in the press or violate laws against disclosure of individuals' tax records. Rosapepe will say only that IRS investigations are taking place in virtually all of the 58 IRS districts.

The question can reasonably be asked why, if IRS has evidence against 130 or 1,000 tax dodgers, it does not bring them to court with dispatch. The answer IRS is satisfied with is that "the wheels of justice grind slowly" and that it is very difficult to get the goods on offenders. IRS prides itself on its conviction record; nearly all the tax cases of various sorts that are prosecuted each year result in convictions. The tough political contribution cases might spoil that record. It just might embarrass some well-known people as well. It has been reported that IRS investigations involve the mayoralty campaign of John Lindsay in New York, the Senate race of Bobby Kennedy, the Douglas-Percy contest in Illinois, and the election of President Johnson in 1964.

Much of the known IRS activity in the area of campaign contributions has centered in California, where several cases have lately attracted public attention. For example, IRS investigators have been looking into the tax affairs of Sanford "Sandy" Weiner, the campaign manager for such GOP candidates as Senator George Murphy; Lt. Gov. Robert Finch; George Christopher, former mayor of San Francisco; and, most recently, Paul N. McCloskey, who ran a successful race against Shirley Temple last November. The case came to light when Howfield Inc., an advertising agency, asked a Los Angeles US District Court to prevent revenue agents from inspecting its books, presumably to establish that it had done business with Weiner. (IRS agents are authorized under the revenue code to summon a firm's records to check for tax irregularities, but such actions are frequently challenged in the courts as "fishing expeditions" violating the Fourth Amendment protection against unreasonable search and seizure. The practice is established in law for civil cases on the grounds that IRS must have available to it ways to check the veracity of self-reported income tax. If a criminal prosecution is anticipated, however, the practice is controversial. Attorneys for firms allegedly harrassed by revenuers have argued that the agency should be required to go to court, show probable cause, and obtain search warrants, rather than decide on its own authority that the private books of a firm are to be inspected. Lawyers often advise clients not to submit to an IRS summons and thus force the courts to rule on the justification for records inspection.)

In hearings this January in Los Angeles, Caesar B. Cantu, one of 10 IRS agents assigned to the California investigation, disclosed that IRS interest in Howfield Inc. was part of "Operation Snowball," an inquiry that began with Sanford Weiner and has since come to involve 31 companies, including 11 advertising agencies, seven printing firms and 13 law firms. No specific charges have been leveled although IRS has acknowledged its interest in "the possibility of double billing and fictitious invoices" to make campaign contributions appear tax deductible. "Tremendous sums of money" are said to be involved. Cantu also said in court that he had been told by Washington to "proceed cautiously," "because it is a political investigation and sensitive in that there might be political figures involved."

There has so far been no ruling permitting IRS to go ahead with its inspection of Howfield's books, as there was in December after IRS had summoned the books of First Charter Financial Corp., a Los Angeles holding company suspected of making campaign contributions. (Another California ad agency involved in current IRS investigations is Davis, Johnson, Mogul and Colombatto, Inc.)

Last year the Internal Revenue Service summoned the advertising records of the Los Angeles *Herald-Examiner* in connection with the Weiner tax liability matter. That Internal Revenue was, even then, interested in the campaign-contribution angle was evident. Attached to the summons was a list of prominent public officials for whom IRS sought to establish some connection with Weiner. The list included President Johnson, Vice President Humphrey, Governor Nelson Rockefeller, Barry Goldwater, Pat Brown, California Rep. Thomas Rees, and former congressman James Roosevelt. IRS wanted to know if Weiner had ever represented any of these men in their campaigns.

Ever since Spencer-Roberts took a has-been actor and turned him into the governor of California the public has been aware of one of the services advertisers can play in turning out plastic, electable candidates. But the role the admen play in raising the money needed to run a strong campaign – through illegal means – has been less well known. It deserves public scrutiny.

DAVID SANFORD

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Running Out of Money, Not Patients

Albany

New York State's Medicaid program, the most ambitious attempt in the nation to deliver comprehensive medical care to those who can't afford it, has been under unrelenting attack since it began in 1966. And now Governor Rockefeller, responding to previous cutbacks by the Congress, is ready to administer the coup de grace, proposing a million persons be removed from eligibility and calling for a sharp reduction in benefits.

The sister program of Medicare, Medicaid is not restricted to the elderly. About six million of New York State's 18 million residents had been deemed eligible to participate in its benefits. Some 3.5 million have actually enrolled in a program which pays for various medical services. It has opened up wide avenues of preventive care for the poor and helped those with decent incomes who have been struck with serious illness.

The estimated cost for fiscal 1967-68 is $687 million split three ways – the federal government paying about 35 percent, the state 34 percent, local governments 31 percent. Critics insist that Medicaid is too expensive (for the wealthiest state in the union). Last fall, however, the voters approved a $2.5 billion transportation program, New York State has a $1.7 billion water pollution program; and the new government center in Albany may cost $1 billion before it is completed.

A battery of old state welfare and health programs which formerly served some 1.3 million persons was brought into Medicaid – care for the aged in state mental health hospitals, the blind, the disabled, physically handicapped children, families with dependent children and families on home relief. Thus a major portion of New York's program – and a major portion of its cost – cover benefits long in existence.

Are eligibility levels too high, as charged? A family of four with an annual income of $6,000 still qualifies for Medicaid, after paying the first $60 of medical expenses. But the US Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that a family of four must have an annual income of more than $10,000 to maintain a "moderate" standard of living in New York City. Anyway, of the 3.5 million who have been approved to receive benefits, more than one million are on welfare rolls. On the basis of a recent survey by the New York State Department of Social Services, it is estimated that the remaining more than two million persons live in households with an average weekly gross income of $61.

Before families or individuals with higher incomes can qualify they must be declared medically indigent. For example, an engineer who earns $12,000 a year has a wife who needed an artificial kidney. Once he had paid out a substantial amount himself, his income hit the $6,000 mark and he was able to get Medicaid assistance for some expenses. In another case, a young couple with two small children qualified after the wife was hospitalized with a brain tumor. The husband earns $10,000 a year but was faced with astronomical expenses due to operations, hospitalization and, later, a practical nurse to care for his wife at home. He paid a considerable amount before qualifying for assistance.

Medicaid has stressed preventive care, which means money saved later on. The program covers simple physical examinations; more patients come into hospitals earlier for tests; serious illness is thus more likely to be detected in time for possible cure.

Recipients getting dental care have jumped from 2,452 to 32,967 in a year. Many had never been to a dentist before. Most had cavities filled or other relatively simple work performed. But about 5,000 were children who needed orthodontic work. In addition, there are 1,600 cases of oral cancer a year in New York State, and State Health Department officials feel that the greater number of persons getting dental care will help detect more cases of oral cancer in early stages.

Medicaid has been something of a boon for doctors. (New York City officials tell of the general practitioner who billed the city $21,000 for a month's services to Medicaid patients – an extreme example.) Physicians are paid their customary fees, but receive payment for many bills they normally would have had to write off as bad debts. Hospitals, likewise, have benefited.

Nevertheless, from the very start, the *Syracuse Post-Standard* called Medicaid "insane, fiscal irresponsibility, socialism, New York's Gigantic Giveaway." So effective was the campaign that *Editor & Publisher* boasted of the Syracuse paper's "Medicaid Expose," as though it had uncovered a homosexual plot to take over the Boy Scouts of America. When figures on the first year of Medicaid in Syracuse were disclosed, however, they showed the county health budget had actually decreased during the first year of the program, because of the larger share picked up by the state and federal governments. In addition, a county sales tax and real estate tax increases levied to underwrite Medicaid produced more money than was needed. State Senator Seymour R. Thaler who has been studying Medicaid's impact believes many localities are deliberately distorting their Medicaid statistics. "It appears that they've even been rigging the books," he says. True or not, the odds are rigged against this broad health plan, for those who benefit most from it are poor and unorganized. They don't own newspapers.

W. David Gardner

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Secretary McNamara's Incredible Last Stand

by Ralph E. Lapp

For two decades, the threat of Soviet weapon development has regulated the flow of US dollars to the Pentagon. Each contestant sought to develop more and more potent offensive weapons. The United States deployed about 1,000 Minutemen ICBM's in underground silos and 656 Polaris missiles in nuclear submarines. Total: 1,710 missiles in the US arsenal. The Soviets responded, Secretary McNamara revealed on February 1, with their own missile buildup: (as of Oct. 1, 1967) 720 ICBM's and 30 submarine-launched missiles. Still, the computer-heartened Mr. McNamara was able to hold the line on missile power, battling the military-industrial pressures for more missiles.

On September 18, 1967, however, in what must stand as one of the most revealing and remarkable speeches by any Secretary of Defense, Mr. McNamara announced the decision to deploy ballistic missiles in a "thin" defense shield. The speech revealed many doubts in the Secretary's mind about the whole nature of the arms race and about the US role in its escalation. For example, he disclosed that we built more missiles than we needed and presumably forced the Soviets to do likewise on an "action-reaction" basis. His speech was remarkable in that except for a few paragraphs it is a powerful argument against having any faith in an anti-ballistic missile system. To all intents and purposes his speech could have been an announcement of the decision *not* to deploy the Nike-X defense shield, Then he made an abrupt U-turn and told of plans for a $5 billion defense system, called the Sentinel system, to be deployed against the threat of ICBM's launched from the mainland of Red China!

Shortly thereafter came explanations for what I call the Yellow Sentinel system. Paul C. Warnke, Mr. McNamara's assistant for international security affairs, put it this way: "In a crisis which they had brought on, if the Chinese came to believe that the United States might attack, they might be tempted to launch a preemptive strike, hoping to bring down at least a part of the American house in the face of total destruction, or even only the destruction of their nuclear forces, which at the moment of crisis they feared we were about to wreak on them." In my purloined copy of *The Crisis Manager's Guide to Deterrent Doctrine*, I cannot locate the right descriptive – perhaps it is "pre-retaliation."

On January 10, 1968, the Pentagon took another whack. Dr. Finn Larsen, principal deputy director, Defense Research and Engineering, made a lengthy speech on the topic, "The Deployment of Nike-Sentinel." Dr. Larsen back-stopped his colleague Mr. Warnke, asserting that the Sentinel system is anti-Chinese, not anti-Soviet. As for Soviet doubts on this score, Dr. Larsen said: "We hope that they believe us and we are counting on their sophisticated knowledge and their years of experience in the field. It should be quite obvious to the Soviets from the technical design of the system and the deployment plans that will be made public that the system is Communist Chinese-oriented and not Soviet-oriented."

It should be noted that more than just a few American scientists have grave doubts about the orientation of the Sentinel system. Some of them feel that it's basically a politico-military response of the United States to the "threat" of a Soviet ABM system. In November 1966 Mr. McNamara released intelligence information about an ABM defense of Moscow and also about the Tallinn Line. On February 1, 1968, he disclosed that the latter was not designed for missile defense and added: "Although construction of the GALOSH ABM system around Moscow is proceeding at a moderate pace, no effort has been made during the last year to expand that system or extend it to other cities."

Dr. Larsen's confidence that design-deployment details about the Sentinel system will convince the Soviets that we are not aiming it in their direction is puzzling. The ballistic paths appropriate to Chinese-launched ICBM's arc over the Arctic just as do Soviet trajectories. It must be the "thinness" of the system that Dr. Larsen has in mind. He may reckon that the Soviets will conclude that such a system cannot stop a massive Soviet nuclear strike. But military planners are

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supposed to be hard-boiled conservatives who assume the worst. Such mentalities would appraise the "thin" Sentinel as a first installment of a "thick" system. They might, therefore, follow suit and add another spiral to the arms race.

If the Soviets do have any doubts about the nature of our Sentinel defense, they will not have them eased by Dr. Larsen's argument that it will provide "a further defense of our Minuteman sites against Soviet attack." Such an admission by a high defense official surely undercuts his hope that the Soviet will believe in the Chineseness of Sentinel.

We are assured by a number of high officials of the Administration, including presidential adviser Walt Rostow, that Sentinel "will remain effective with foreseeable improvements at least until the 1980s." Of course, the improvements may well involve the difference between a "thin" $5 billion system and a "thick" $40 billion shield. But if we take the Sentinel system as presently conceived, it is very difficult to believe that it can cope with a Chinese nuclear thrust 10 years from now. By then Red China, given political stability and technological drive, can deploy several hundred ICBM's. To assume less is to overestimate the engineering difficulty of rocketry and to underestimate the meaning of Red China's nuclear successes to date.

Dr. Larsen does not disregard the possibility that Red China may push hard in technical areas and produce ICBM's in quantity, although he fails to speak quantitatively. "As the Chinese Communists improve their technology and increase their forces in number, we may expect them to have developed their own 'second strike' capability," says Dr. Larsen, "and the dangerous period of possible irrationality will have passed." Presumably the need for Sentinel would also have passed, but by that time one can be sure that the machinations of the "military-industrial-political" complex would have thickened it to a $40 billion system.

If a lack of security predisposes Red China to irrational nuclear attack, then a cheap substitute for Sentinel would be for the United States to give her some of our phased-out Minuteman-I ICBM's. The Chinese would be expected to supply their own nuclear warheads and dig their own silos.

Whoever it was who pinned a Chinese tag on our Sentinel system could not possibly have reckoned with the defense repercussions of this artifice. Not the least of these is the fact that it has served to undermine confidence in the system of nuclear deterrence that has operated for two decades. When we deploy Sentinel against a Chinese threat we admit that deterrents may not deter. The transition from two-party to three-party deterrence will be tricky enough without confusing the issue.

Modern defense technology becomes its own master and makes its own decisions. In the case of Nike-X, the Defense Department spent $4 billion in research and development. Such a massive effort implicated a significant sector of the US scientific, technological and industrial community. Long before the missile system reached any degree of technical ripeness, military and political pressures mounted to yank it from the development stage and to put it into production. When Nike-X gave hope of success the politics of defense took over. A year ago the Republican National Committee issued a 55-page report on the missile defense question, titled: "Is LBJ Right? – Russia Deploys Anti-Missile Network – US Refuses To Keep Pace."

Had the Administration failed to deploy Nike-X, it would have been vulnerable to a 1968 campaign attack on a defense issue. Moreover it would have to contend with Democratic legislators who have championed missile defense. Then, too, the prospect of layoffs in the aerospace industry was not pleasant, especially coming on the heels of further cutbacks in the space program. In short President Johnson must have felt the bite of the words that President Eisenhower used in his farewell address when he warned of "the acquisition of unwarranted influence . . . by the military-industrial complex."

This year politicians will be able to take something back home to their constituents, thanks to Sentinel. There's something for almost everyone in the manufacture and deployment of the missile defense system. Less than a month after the Sentinel decision, Senator Mike Mansfield was able to announce at Great Falls, Montana, that a Perimeter Acquisition Radar (PAR) installation would be made north of that city. "When completed, this installation will probably have a contingent of up to 600 people permanently stationed or employed," the Senate majority leader said.

For better or worse, for real military reasons or for invented ones, America is now embarked on the build-up of its continental defenses. These could prove to be the ramparts of Fortress America with all that the name implies. But our cities are not citadels; they are potential Hiroshimas multiplied many times over by the H-bomb's might. They cannot be "hardened" like Minuteman silos or flame-proofed.

Against this backdrop some recent Pentagon-released information on missile interception apparently seeks to reassure the public about the detonation of warheads overhead. For example, on January 10, 1968 Dr. Finn Larsen stated: "The claim has been made that our own population will suffer casualties from the

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Dr. Ralph E. Lapp *is a well-known American physicist and author. This article is based on a speech he delivered at the University of Washington on February 7.*

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Spartan and Sprint warheads detonating overhead. . . . When the warhead explodes there will be a bright flash of light. Most of the population underneath would scarcely notice it. If anyone were looking in that part of the sky, there is a possibility that the flash could temporarily blind him, but there would be no serious aftereffects."

Spartan intercepts involve space bursts of a high-yield thermonuclear weapon, meaning multimegaton explosions above 50 miles. On August 1, 1958, the United States tested a bomb less powerful than Spartan at an altitude of about 50 miles. According to Section 11.72 of the government publication, *The Effects of Nuclear Weapons*, issued in April 1962: ". . . chorioretinal burns (in rabbits) occurred at slant distances up to about 345 miles; however, no measurements were made at greater distances and so this cannot be considered as a threshold range for eye damage." Sprint intercepts may take place 5,000 to 100,000 feet above the earth and involve warheads much less potent than Spartan. Both with Sprint and Spartan the defender has to consider that the attacker will fuse his weapon-warhead so as to be detonated by a near hit.

The Defense Department can eliminate argument by simply issuing a summary report of nuclear weapon effects for megaton-class warheads burst at one, 10, 50 and 100 miles above ground level. For example, there should be no disagreement about the fact that a 10-megaton weapon burst at an altitude of 10 miles creates a fireball capable of inflicting a second degree skin burn over an area of 2,000 square miles. The same weapon detonated 100 miles above the earth would not produce incendiary action but it *would* be noticed. Indeed, it would create a vast incandescent cushion in the sky – a fire-pancake 50 miles above the earth, stretching from Philadelphia to New York, for example.

The Pentagon cannot whitewash the yellow off its Sentinel system. Its spokesmen are now stuck with an anti-Chinese missile defense. But the American people must recognize that once again its decision-makers have overreacted to a technological problem. The "mad momentum" of the arms race remains unchecked and swerves into a new domain of defense as opposed to offense.

. . . and Now to the Bank

The World Bank is already as computerized as the Pentagon and possibly, pound for pound, more so. It uses much the same staff to manage the three financial units making up the World Bank group, even though each of these units lends money to a different clientele on different terms. This is something like combining the Army, Navy and Air Force into one staff, a dizzying level of integration that Robert McNamara, for all his zeal on that score, never attempted across the Potomac. Efficiency aside, McNamara will inherit a full ration of problems at the Bank when he takes over as its president around March 1.

The World Bank group is expected to serve as a firm financial bridge across which the rich nations can pass, more or less safely, some of their rising wealth to poor nations. The enterprise is humanitarian; it can also be good business: to the extent that you develop a country, you develop a market.

Nonetheless, the rich led by the US are limiting the flow of money to the poor at a time when economists agree that the need for development capital is greater than ever. When McNamara took over as Secretary of Defense in 1961, the net flow of financial resources from the industrialized nations was running at a level of about $6 billion a year. Now, after an unbroken run of prosperity in the industrialized world, the figure is just about the same. Output in the industrialized countries has grown by about $200 billion during the seven-year period that McNamara ran the Pentagon; *none* of that increase has been earmarked for aid in the less-developed world.

Bank officials say the new wealth is being withheld for three main reasons: the poor nations seem unable to absorb more debt on conventional terms; there exists a general shortage of capital in the world, which tends to drive up interest rates and make investment in developed countries more attractive; and, finally, there is widespread disillusionment among potential investors at the political instability and economic narcissism so in evidence among the poorer nations.

The Johnson Administration's recent moratorium on private direct investment abroad will probably put more pressure on the Bank to make up for the loss. While US investment will be permitted to continue in developing areas at 110 percent of the 1965-66 base, many new starts may be killed on the drawing board. As one Bank official pointed out: "110 percent of nothing is nothing."

Now 22 years old, the Bank has lent more than $10 billion, without a single default, mostly to countries that are poor but still solvent enough to pay conventional rates of interest. (Three-quarters of the financing, comes from the developing countries themselves.) Since the Bank is currently forced to sell its bonds at nearly 6 percent interest, its most recent loan – $24 million to develop electric power in the Sudan

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– carried a record interest rate of 6¼ percent, not much of a bargain as development loans go. The poorest countries in the Bank's membership, with a combined population of more than one billion, can't afford such rates, which George D. Woods, the astute Wall Street financier whom McNamara succeeds, recognized when he sparked the drive for opening a bargain basement window in the Bank, known as the International Development Association (IDA). While IDA offers financing for much the same purposes as the parent Bank, repayment terms are far more lenient, and the bulk of the capital, rather than being raised in subscriptions on Wall Street or in Zurich, comes to IDA directly from the treasuries of 18 wealthy nations.

Since May 1961, when IDA made its first 50-year development commitment, the organization has granted about $1.7 billion in credits to 38 countries and territories. More than 70 cents out of every dollar has gone to India and Pakistan. IDA won't allow donor states to attach any conditions on how much of their share of the money should come back to them in orders. The US, which so far has put up slightly more than two-fifths of IDA's capital, has received back only one-fifth in purchases of American goods and services. On the other hand, the large commitments to India and Pakistan have helped ease Britain's pressing balance of payments problem.

But IDA is out of cash, and it cannot take on any fresh commitments until its kitty has again been replenished by donor nations. The major stumbling block, in talks that dragged on for nearly a year and have recently ended, has been the insistence of the US Treasury that it must clamp balance of payments safeguards upon its 40 percent slice of the IDA replenishment. The West Europeans, led by the French, have steadfastly resisted giving the US any special privileges that other members of the club aren't also entitled to.

The impasse was finally broken in January under pressure from the Bank, with a tentative deal that allows the US to be the last of the donor nations to have its stake tapped for IDA's use. The Treasury has bought only time. It will hang back for as long as possible while the Europeans and the Japanese carry IDA's actual disbursements from their share of the funds. Should the next round of IDA credits be spread more evenly around the world, as is envisoned by the Bank, the US stands to recoup more in purchases, thus ending IDA's current $30-million-a-year burden on the dwindling gold hoard. It remains to be seen how well McNamara can manage this without being accused of showing undue favoritism to his native land. And it remains to be seen what the US Congress will do. When Livingston T. Merchant, the US representative on the World Bank, went before a House appropriations subcommittee last year to ask for $104 million which had long ago been agreed upon as the sum that would cover the American contribution to IDA in the current fiscal year, Rep. Otto E. Passman (D, La.), the subcommittee chairman, bemoaned the US balance of payments plight and then asked Merchant whether he could foresee the day when Washington would become a recipient of IDA's largess. "No, sir; not, in my judgment, in the foreseeable future," Merchant replied with a straight face.

Passman ignores the fact that the World Bank, as a whole, helps bolster the US gold account by about $200 million to $300 million a year. It continually endears itself to the Treasury by soaking up dollars in Europe through the sale of its bonds and then bringing the dollars back to the United States, where they are held as a reserve. None of the funds that the Bank raises on Wall Street these days actually leave the country. But the Bank, which believes it is acting in the interests of monetary stability, and therefore indirectly furthering development, does not like to publicize its dollar dealings, lest it be accused of acting as an agent of the US – its largest stockholder.

The new arrangement for IDA calls for a replenishment of $1.2 billion to be spread over three years. The US share will be 40 percent or $160 million a year. After a country-by-country review, Woods decided that the 45 IDA-eligible countries could easily soak up $1 billion a year for the type of high-priority development uses that currently qualify under the Bank's rather stringent standards.

But the Johnson Administration, worried about the gold drain and sensitive to the ever-worsening mood on foreign aid on Capitol Hill, has asked to be excused. Assuming Congress goes along, the US will donate 16 cents for every dollar that Woods has asked for. There is no good reason to believe that McNamara, for all his experience in Washington, will get more.

Abroad, the money situation is no brighter. The British, deeply pressed by their sterling crisis, are moving into their new role as tight little islanders. The West Germans, ranking right behind the British as IDA sponsors and easily able to surpass them, talk about budgetary problems; they remain content to run their aid program, in the main, as a device to finance their own commercial exports. The Japanese smile politely and also ask to be excused. And the French continue to sign bilateral aid deals that, de Gaulle feels, give more prestige to Paris. The Scandinavians, the Dutch, the Italians and the Canadians like IDA's multilateral approach. But they don't have much money.

In a notable speech at Montreal in 1966, McNamara said: "Security is development. Without development, there can be no security." His main problem, two years later, is to make the rich nations of the world believe that.

ANDREW J. GLASS

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Stanley Kauffmann on films

Ahmed and Isabela

Interesting times in the film world. As I've noted here, the extensions in film language, in film imagination, that appeared in France during the last 10 years have been gobbled up hungrily by many young filmmakers around the world. There are historical reasons why these extensions were inevitable (and they are not all happy; one of them is a kind of intellectual and artistic sloth); but a new vocabulary can hardly be good or bad in itself, everything depends on its use. The chief shadow in this new school has been the speed with which the new liberation has in some cases become imitation, even parody. This is the risk of embarrassment that every innovator faces. Imagine Hemingway reading Alfred Hayes. Imagine Godard seeing Loach's *Poor Cow*. Whatever the faults of the originator, he is not responsible for his mimics.

Love Affair – or – The Case of the Missing Switchboard Operator (Brandon)
Doctor Faustus (Columbia)

But some young directors have done better than imitate, even skillfully; they have absorbed the new language as part of their mother tongues, as a chance to be more fully themselves. I have seen none of whom this is more true than a young Yugoslav named Dusan Makavejev, who has written and directed *Love Affair – or – The Case of the Missing Switchboard Operator*. This is his second feature film; the first has not been publicly released here. In *Love Affair* the New Wave influences have been thoroughly assimilated and are integral to the director's material, something I did not feel in *China Is Near* by the admittedly gifted Bellocchio.

Style is content here. What is the story? Isabela, a switchboard operator in Belgrade, meets a sanitation inspector named Ahmed. They have an affair. She loves him, but she is sexually ductile. While he is away for a month, she is seduced by a postman and becomes pregnant. When Ahmed learns of it, he is revolted and leaves. She pursues him, finds him drunk (he is not a habitual drinker), and pleads with him. In shaking her off, he accidentally kills her – knocks her into a deep underground well. He gets drunker, collapses, and is soon found by the police.

What a trite and tritely sordid story. What a charming, deft, poignant, and socially illuminating film. Makavejev has sketched in a good deal about life in Belgrade today, has invested his little film with a highly personal view of fate and fate's ludicrousness, and has directed so well that the texture itself gives us a sensual pleasure.

The picture opens with an amiable old sexologist lecturing us, as he might do on educational television, about sexual customs and attitudes (except that some of the drawings we see would burn out our TV tubes). The old man reappears occasionally through the film, never saying anything directly relevant to it. He supplies a note of frankness about sex which is quaintly old-fashioned against the realities for which mere frankness is insufficient.

The chronicle of the lovers, as such, is handled with fine astringency. For example, we never even see them meet. She is out walking with a girl friend, then we see these two girls crossing the street with a man whom – presumably – they have chatted with while waiting for a traffic light. One appeal of this picture is the "presumably": it is easy and pleasant to fill in the gaps of omitted detail. The touches of characterization – and their social relevance – are supplied with similar casualness. Ahmed, to judge by his name, is one of Yugoslavia's numerous Mohammedans, therefore a man who takes fidelity very seriously; he is moreover a very serious communist and therefore additionally puritanical. Isabela is a foreigner, a Hungarian, and always conscious of it: she sings Hungarian songs, bakes a strudel, talks about her "Hungarian" need for sex. The fact that Makavejev made his heroine a Hungarian may be his comment on the Yugoslav attitude toward Hungarian views of the seriousness of communist life.

Structurally the director has folded the story back on itself so as to thicken its texture. No sooner have we met the pair than we flash *forward* – to the police fishing the girl's body out of the well into which she falls at the end; and all through the film there are intercut sequences of her autopsy, as well as a criminologist's lecture on the nature of murder. Before we see the girl naked for love, we have seen her naked on the autopsy table. Before we see her black cat stroll lazily over her rounded white bottom (a lovely picture), we have seen the autopsy instruments lined up on her naked legs. The first intercut of the death sequences is puzzling; then we understand that a linear event has been sliced and the sections intertwined so that we could watch all of it, figuratively, at the same time. The effect is not only of the multi-planed simultaneity that has been a part of modern art since Picasso, not only a reminder of the fragility of life but of the fragility of life patterns. And implicit in this is a comment on the final irrelevance of political systems to some matters of biology and the psyche.

Makavejev's use of cinematic resource is effervescent but careful. There is a shot of the pair at a resort hotel – he on a little balcony, she opening a window next to him – that is as exquisite as the window-opening scene in the morning sun in *Jules and Jim*. While Isabela is rolling the strudel dough, an operation rich with 500 years of Middle European social history, the soundtrack gives us the Triumphal March from *Aida*. When the postman is working her over at the switchboard and she begins to feel her glands moisten, we suddenly cut to some films of nude *tableaux vivants*, c. 1915, in which a moustached gentleman and an

(Continued on page 36)

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Who Needs Critics?

A few weeks ago the Sunday *New York Times* theatre section carried a combined interview with and personality sketch of Jacques Levy, the director of Bruce Jay Friedman's hot new play, *Scuba Duba*. The piece might easily have been dismissed as a characteristically adolescent amalgam of fan-magazine biographical chatter and its subject's arch, offhand comments about art and life and the like. Yet Levy's peculiar new eminence and some of the things he had to say in the interview seem to me to be representative, as *Scuba Duba* itself is, of a phenomenon of much more than momentary importance, a cultural weather it seems accurate to call now the New Barbarism.

In the course of the article Levy laid down his principle of directorial procedure, in this play at least, which turned out to be a refusal to rely on any principle at all. The clearest point he made was that he did what he felt like, he did his "thing," to keep our terminology up-to-the-minute. In elaboration of this he cited the appearance of a female character with bare, dramaturgically irrelevant breasts, saying that "I just felt it ought to be that way." And he then went on to remark that he found "awfully funny" my own view (*NR*, October 28, 1967) that the whole play and the production were pointless and tasteless since, he said, I obviously meant that it ought to have been "pointed and tasteful."

Now pointed is not the opposite of pointless, nor is tasteful the opposite of tasteless. *With point*, some kind of point – conscious illogicality, arbitrariness deliberately shaped, chance as a principle if that is what you want – is the opposite of pointless; and *with taste*, some kind of taste – bad taste as a weapon perhaps, inverted taste, revolutionary taste, but with some kind of aesthetic pressure applied – is the opposite of tasteless. What Levy was trying to do was confine me in some outworn, morally-oriented critical position (I ordinarily get it from the other side: an inhumanist, an admirer of form without content, I'm mostly called), at the same time as he enlisted himself under the banner of a new and splendid freedom. But I am no more interested in having plays be pointed and tasteful, or having novels or paintings be for that matter, than he is; I am interested in art, however, and of *Scuba Duba* at any rate I suspect that Levy is interested in faking it.

For *Scuba Duba* is an ersatz play, a shopping-bag of attitudes and awarenesses plucked from others' shelves, not an act of freedom or a revolutionary move into a dimension that transcends previous categories of taste. If it were that, if it were an imaginative act on the order of certain new paintings or fiction of the type of Beckett's, or, to go back to drama, of some flawed but newly felt and conceived plays of the off-off-Broadway theatre, the kind of direction Levy gave to it might be justified, or at least its vulgarities might have felt less sophomoric and exploitive of a naïve audience's desire for titillation at the expense of experience. As it is, all the energy of Friedman's play is derived energy, all its structure is jerry-built, its whole imagination is tuned to the accessible, the comfortably outrageous, the predictably shocking.

This bad play might conceivably have been the occasion for a director to have used its badness deliberately, constructing a work, like certain pieces of camp or pop, which proclaim that their subjects' value lies precisely in their being available for art, like anything else, not in any intrinsic beauty or significance. He might, in other words, have used Friedman's text the way Lichtenstein uses comic strips. Levy half implies that he has in fact done this when he remarks that "content is the window dressing and style is what counts." I would prefer to put it this way: style, or form, is what any artistic work is about, content is what can be paraphrased from it. But the point here, the trouble with Levy's argument in this case, is that his directorial style, his imposition of a form on Friedman's script, is of a piece with the text, as derivative, debased and pseudo-sophisticated as it is.

What emerges most clearly from the *Times* piece is that Levy doesn't want to be judged (who does?) and that his way of protecting himself is to declare all judgment irrelevant. I do what I feel like, I do my thing. It is in response to this that the whole question of criticism, its uses and justifications and even more its potential life, rises up. For the condition of art today, in which everybody is doing his thing, is such that criticism is in danger of finding itself without a subject, without, that is to say, a subject whose nature can define criticism's own being and purpose. Art on many fronts has moved past the old definitions and categories, leaving most criticism practicing in an abandoned house. In this way critics go on talking about tactile and compositional values in painting when painting is concerned with something else, or about character and plot in novels when the most interesting writing is doing other work.

"A new form," Alain Robbe-Grillet has written, "always seems to be more or less an absence of any form at all, since it is unconsciously judged by reference to consecrated forms." But that is just where the critic must start about his true business, which is to be conscious, to be, along with the artist and from another angle than his, by necessity the man conscious of new forms. And to be conscious of them, to know that they are there, with all their surprises, difficulties, precariousness and potential influence, so that they must be announced, clarified and protected, is what gives the critic his chief pleasure. There is a new freedom in art today, actually a renewed freedom such as art always wins for itself – and from itself – and the critic cannot be any less free than that.

As art changes, as it becomes less

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and less involved with directly humanistic concerns – the best new painting, the best new writing tell us nothing about how to live or even how to feel, but are constructions alternative to the ways we live and feel and thus sources of new pleasure – criticism has to change its bases, to move out of its own humanistic concerns. This doesn't mean that it is to be less *human*, but only less programmatic, for humanism in its historical career is and has been a program, not a strongbox of indissoluble values.

Less than ten years ago Alfred Kazin wrote an essay called "The Function of Criticism Today," in which he argued most eloquently for the traditional role of criticism, which he saw imperiled. The tradition was that of *histoire morale*, it was concerned "explicitly, fightingly, with an ideal of man, with a conception of what man is seeking to become, with what he must become." And such criticism, Kazin argued, was coherent with literature's "classic functions of providing ideas central to social policy and moral behavior."

Yet if literature (or any art) is no longer doing that (if indeed it was ever its chief function) what kind of ideas and values can criticism concern itself with? It can, and has to, concern itself with the practice of the arts as *they* unfold: and this is the point at which I come back to Jacques Levy and the New Barbarism. Out of the shifts in art, the opening to change and the abandonment of previous bases, the technical revolutions which are at the same time moral ones, true works arise – newly true, not validated by "consecrated" criteria – but also novels, films, "events," plays like *Scuba Duba* and directorial acts like Levy's which are the simulacra of authentic works and get their borrowed life accepted because scandal and posture have become almost indistinguishable from true stances.

Jostling for attention with their "zaniness," and lack of principle, their mindlessness, their claim to be moral liberations because overtly sexual ones, their ugliness passing itself off as verve and their self-indulgence stepping out as expanded consciousness, such works hugely muddy up the terrain and make authentic art difficult to see. One of the tasks of criticism today is to distinguish them, to make distinctions between new forms and the lack of form, to adopt as a watchword the principle Coleridge laid down when he wrote that "every reform, however necessary, will by weak minds be carried to an excess, which will itself need reforming." The New Barbarism is one manifestation of Coleridge's "excess." For the critic today the job, as never before, is to keep excess seen as excess, as imposture and fraud, a task which is the unpleasant correlative of his major work of recognizing and elucidating the not yet consecrated.

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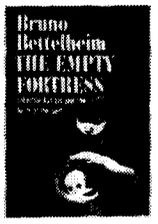

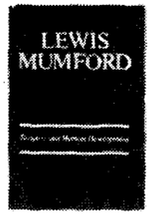

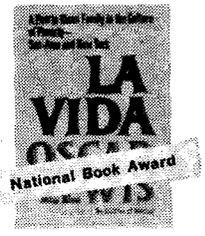

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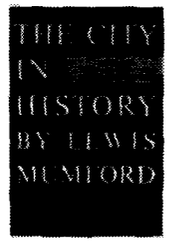

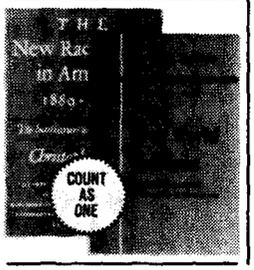

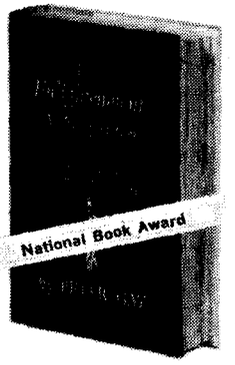

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Classicist of Exile

by Victor Lange

The terms "classical" and "romantic" have lost much of their meaning: they no longer offer us useful and comfortable categories of classification but merely point to modes of feeling or to stylistic devices vaguely associated with differences in behavior or taste. We find a strong classical bent in so "romantic" a mind as Robert Graves, and would miss the essence of Auden as Seferis the classical mood seems to predominate, it is because of his constant awareness of the topography of Greece, and of the unmistakable objects and configurations of the Mediterranean world. There is, moreover, in his poetry, an unfashionable interplay of restrained lyricism and a wide and self-assured epic vision – both characteristic of a classical disposition that is at the same time little inclined to mere display of learning or sentimental nostalgia for lost harmonies. Seferis' work, all too little read outside the sphere of his own language, is now available in a most persuasive English translation by Edmund Keeley and Philip Sherrard, who also provide a brief critical introduction and notes.

Collected Poems 1924-1955
by George Seferis
Translated, Edited and Introduced by
Edmund Keeley and Philip Sherrard
(Princeton; $10)

if we were to think that his "Ode to Gaea" or his "Shield of Achilles" suggested anything like a classicist attitude. The two positions are not, of course, opposites; they are dialectical and complementary; and if in a poet as sharply profiled and as disciplined the modern sensibility, to Mallarmé or Eliot or Pound, is obvious. Yet his work is nevertheless determined and defined by cultural premises, and especially by an attitude towards history, that clearly separate him not only from the younger poets of the West but from some of his admired contemporaries such as Valéry and Yeats. The serenity and fullness of the imagery, his evocation of aspects of a familiar landscape, the confident rhetorical manner, the absence of any intellectual (as against sentimental) irony – all this is immensely impressive; but it is far from that fundamental suspicion and mistrust in any suggestion of coherence that has driven the younger poets into abstraction and distortion, into shrill or mannered or utterly cryptic speech, into an acceptance of the overwhelming evidence of disjointedness.

Again and again Seferis asserts his role as heir and recorder of an incomparable tradition that is present in worn and fragmentary monuments, not as promise or challenge, but as a fractured reminder of greatness. There is no trace in his poetry of any social criticism or of ideological fervor. The assertion and evocation of a present past altogether shapes the character of his achievement. He speaks plainly and calmly, and with a directness that seems at first to border on the trivial and the gauche; his words are thing-bound and thing-determined to a point where they appear commonplace and without resonance; his characteristic structural device is an enumeration of nouns, often insistently added one to the other and unmodified by any iridescent adjective. The range of his imagery is limited: the simple properties of the Greek world, the plane tree, the sea, cistern, rocks, sails, alternate with the recurring strands of mythological allusions. It is clear that the Homeric universe and the traditions of Greek life and speech have given to Seferis' work its texture and its emotional tone.

But what lifts it beyond a merely parochial appeal, what gives to an apparently conventional imaginative landscape a thoroughly contemporary validity is the experience of exile that has determined Seferis' poetic perspective and illuminated his – and our – view of life. This sense of exile at once

When Seferis received the Nobel Prize in 1963 he had not only established himself as an influential figure in contemporary Greek letters but had acted with distinction in the diplomatic service of his country. He was born in Turkey, came to Athens as a boy, studied in Paris and was subsequently appointed to posts in the foreign office and abroad, served in Egypt, South Africa and Italy with the Greek government in exile and, after the war in the Middle East, was from 1957 to 1962 Ambassador in London.

Although he is far from a confessional poet, the modes and turns of his life are unmistakably reflected in his poetry. The pot-diplomat is (or has been) a familiar figure between the wars; like Paul Claudel and Saint-John Perse, or, indeed, Dag Hammarskjöld, Seferis has recognized in the pursuit of his profession the classical struggle between appearance and reality. His is the sphere of mind committed to an exacting performance of administrative and representative duties as well as to a melancholy reflection upon the discrepancy between action and insight, upon the elusiveness of truth precisely at moments of the most concrete play of life. It is this essentially critical and at times skeptical manner that gives Seferis' poetry, beyond its classical firmness, its peculiarly modern appeal.

His indebtedness to the founders of

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confirms and encroaches upon that "Greek" awareness of present and past: neither one nor the other is taken for granted, or remains self-evident. For in Seferis' poetry the past breaks ominously into the present, and the present is a mere reminder of our inability to grasp reality, to share in it, to be at home in it. In one of his most characteristic and most impressive poems, "The King of Asine," Seferis seeks to establish the evidence both physical and spiritual, of a place to which only a brief Homeric reference gives a clue; aware of his inability to discover it and thus, of being excluded, he can recognize its traces only in puzzling masks that cover the void and in bizarre signs: ". . . from the depths of the cave a startled bat hit the light as an arrow hits a shield. . . ." This experience seems paradigmatic of the human situation:

". . . nothing is left but the weight
the nostalgia for the weight of a
living existence
there where we now remain unsubstantial. . . ."

To accept this condition as inevitable is to identify the scope of the poet's purpose: ". . . the poet a void."

What Seferis' "Book of Exercises" or his "Logbooks" of the imagination reiterates in a succession of wholly unsentimental poems – "I've kept a hold on my life whispering in a boundless silence" – is the affirmation of the senses, of the mind, of language and memory:

"So very much having passed before
our eyes
that our eyes in the end saw nothing, but beyond
and behind was memory like the
white sheet one night in
an enclosure
where we saw strange visions, even
stranger than you,
pass by and vanish into the motionless foliage of a
pepper-tree."

This power of perception, its assertion, its ambiguity, its defeat and eternal recurrence is the elegiac substance of Seferis' poetry; it is embodied in a universe of objects that are intended to testify to the immutability as well as the corrosion of time, and in a memorable series of tragic figures, "heroes that move forward in the dark," whether Odysseus or the Argonauts, Stratis the mariner, or Euripides the Athenian who

". . . grew old between the fires of
Troy
and the quarries of Sicily.
He liked seashore caves and pictures
of the sea.
He saw man's veins
as a net the gods made to catch us
like wild beasts:
he tried to pierce it.
He was a sour man, his friends were
few;
when the time came he was torn to
pieces by dogs."

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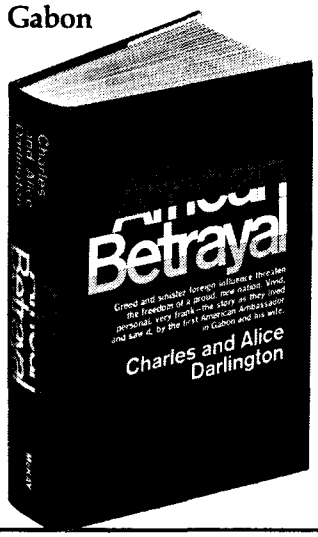

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Roosevelt and the Jews

by John Morton Blum

"Under the present unhappy situation in the world it is to a certain extent inevitable that we should be hardened to horrors." So wrote the British Secretary of State for the Colonies about one of the multitude of tragedies that attended Hitler's final solution of the Jewish problem – the destruction, really the murder, of six million European Jews. The Secretary had done nothing

While Six Million Died:
A Chronicle of American Apathy
by Arthur D. Morse
(Random House; $6.95)

to prevent or mitigate the particular horror to which he referred, or any of countless similar horrors. Neither had the Soviet Union, the Papacy, the International Red Cross, nor the United States Government. That apathy, its sources and its consequences, provide the focus for Arthur D. Morse whose outraged, spirited and informed account of Nazi policy and American inaction charges "the bystanders" with moral complicity, and sometimes worse, in Germany's deliberate genocide.

Morse's accusation and the extensive documentation he brings to its support will ruffle the complacency of those Americans who interpret their nation's role, during World War II and later, as a continuing, selfless adventure in freedom and humanitarianism. Morse will also especially disturb those American Jews for whom Franklin Roosevelt has long been a hero. As Morse demonstrates, the record of the United States in dealing with the "Jewish problem" from 1939 through 1945 was wretched. He makes that demonstration at three levels of diminishing persuasiveness: as a moralist, a prosecutor, and a historian. But at every level he commands attention for his case.

In our own time, itself dreadfully "hardened to horrors," Morse's book provides a rather shrill reminder of the difficult duty of everyman to mankind. We need that reminder, judging by the complacency with which we condone American tactics in Vietnam. We need it precisely as the Germans did when the Eichmann trial began. That trial, in the view of one socially eminent lady of Munich, represented only a rude effort by the Israelis and the American press to discomfort the German people. Her opinion, in the observation of her American companion, in itself explained the need for the trial: too many Germans were finding it convenient to forget the facility with which they had appeased their consciences while the Nazis ruled. So now too many Americans conveniently overlook their past indifferences to Nazi policy and their current unconcern with the horrors that American airplanes in Southeast Asia visit continually upon a helpless people.

"If genocide is to be prevented in the future," Morse writes, "we must understand how it happened in the past – not only in terms of the killers and the killed but of the bystanders." The implications of that statement apply, whatever the author's intention, not only to American attitudes toward the ghastly war in Vietnam but also to national attitudes – public and private – as they relate to continuing racial injustice within the US and to the comparable complicity in tyranny that characterizes most of the American foreign military assistance program. Morse writes only about the shared guilt of the 1930's and 1940's, but in so doing he says essentially what the Rev. William Sloane Coffin has long been preaching, and it is as a preacher that Morse is most successful and most moving.

He is also successful as a lawyer, not least because his indictment and advocacy – as he acknowledges – rest upon the careful and persuasive work of able attorneys formerly in the Treasury Department. Those men – Randolph Paul, John Pehle and others – first exposed the incompetence and procrastination of the State Department's wartime policy toward assisting Jews to escape from Hitler's Europe. In reporting on and elaborating upon the Treasury's efforts in 1943-44 to change that policy, Morse lays out in excruciating detail the inertia and banality of

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Even the President, for whom we make no excuses, was neither fully nor accurately informed as to the commitments and intensions of his own military and para-military establishment.

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the bureaucracy that Cordell Hull never really controlled or wholly understood. Hull's own pusillanimity, his mechanical obeisance to the preferences of senior Democrats in Congress, his inaccessibility to Roosevelt, and his jealousy of Sumner Welles all contributed to the general ineffectuality of the State Department. Had the Treasury succeeded six or ten months earlier than it did in forcing the creation of the War Refugee Board, thousands or perhaps hundreds of thousands of Jews might have been saved. As Morse argues, a few of the responsible officers of the State Department were probably anti-Semitic. Possibly inadvertently, he implies that anti-Semitism lay at the root of the department's failings. Yet his brief against the officers of the department convicts them in the large not of anti-Semitism, of which there was some, but of an almost glacial immobility, of which there was a great deal. The verdict is no less devastating on that account.

More than Morse allows, the question remains of how much the United States could have done, and how soon, to relieve the plight of the Jews in Europe. To be sure, he is persuasive, as the Treasury was at the time, about some lost opportunities. But what doesn't persuade is his belief in the utility of American public protests, especially by the President, against German atrocities; his faith in the efficacy of warnings of punishment to those who assisted the Nazis in genocide; and his rather partisan dismissal of the seriousness of the problems in and around Palestine. Nor is it as probable as he suggests that the executive branch could have effectively modified immigration regulations or that Congress would have permitted an extensive modification. Here, too, the question was not only, certainly not primarily, anti-Semitism; it had to do, rather, with the xenophobia that characterized the American mood before and during the war.

Here and there, Morse puts his topic into the perspective of the time, but by and large he examines the question of the Jews without sufficient reference to related, revealing matters. That concentration accounts for his treatment of Roosevelt. Largely on the basis of folklore, many American Jews have believed that Roosevelt had a special, continuing interest in them and their concerns; so, too, though less in recent years, have American Negroes. In fact, Roosevelt, like other Presidents before and since, set priorities of his own, which at no time gave primacy to the needs or wishes of any ethnic group. From Pearl Harbor to the day of his death, the President's overriding objective was victory in the war. In pursuit of that goal, he supported some demands of American Negro and Jewish leadership and resisted others. While intellectually aware of Roosevelt's position, Morse condemns it emotionally, and in so doing addresses himself more to his disappointment in the man than to a careful evaluation of his total policy. Accordingly the picture Morse paints of Roosevelt is distorted, though his descriptions of American apathy are accurate enough.

What needs examination are the complex interrelationships between the President's priority for unconditional victory and the particular issue affected. In that connection, Morse comes close, now and then, to the heart of the matter – to the related developments of American policy toward Vichy France, toward Darlan, toward Badoglio, toward Spain. One need only recall other, domestic policies – toward the Nisei, toward continuing segregation in the armed services, toward Mexican labor – to begin to reconstruct the total environment within which the State Department, the President and others made decisions about the Jews.

In the main, the United States Government was not discriminating against Jews any more or less than toward many other groups of people, at home and abroad. The President was not indifferent to the fate of the Jews who fell into Nazi hands any more than he was indifferent to the fate of the many Russians whom the Nazis treated no better. Rather, Roosevelt and his government were, by the best lights of those involved, giving an uncompromising priority to military victory. That priority may have been wise, even essential, for part of the war, at least perhaps through mid-1943; it was probably less wise and certainly less essential thereafter. It led to decisions which cost the United States the moral leadership to which Roosevelt himself aspired. It led, too, to decisions that in their turn hampered, often prevented the saving of thousands of Jewish lives. And yet a cross-channeled invasion in 1942 or 1943, had it been tried and had it succeeded, would have saved more lives than any alternative possibility. So, too, an American concentration on humanitarian concerns to the point of threatening the Grand Alliance might have delayed victory and cost millions of lives. The President, whatever his errors, was neither knave nor fool nor complacent tool of anti-Semites.

Still, Morse, whatever his perspectives, has made his major point. About the Jews, as about other matters, Americans were too long apathetic. Roosevelt's priority for victory, whatever its merits, had as one awful consequence the delays that Morse laments. And now as then, if complicity in tyranny and immorality is to be avoided, the question of appropriate priorities needs continually to be examined.

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Stanley Kauffmann, *Associate Literary Editor of this journal has recently been appointed Chairman of the National Society of Film Critics.* Richard Gilman *recently became Literary Editor of this journal.* Victor Lange *is a professor of Germanic languages at Princeton.* John Morton Blum *is professor of history at Yale University and author of numerous books.*

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Correspondence

Patriotic Justice

Sirs:

Frank M. Matthews wrote an article about me, entitled "Patriotic Justice" (February 3) which is replete with factual errors. . . . In 1964 I was a candidate for the Democratic nomination for United States Senator in Pennsylvania. Sen. Joseph S. Clark opposed my nomination and sponsored the candidacy of Miss Genevieve Blatt. In April 1964, Senator Clark asked publicly, "Why doesn't Musmanno say where he was born?" Senator Clark knew I was born in Stowe Township, Pennsylvania, but he intended by his question to convey the impression I was born in Italy in order to get, for his candidate, the votes of the "anti-foreigners." Unfortunately the infamous stratagem worked. In Lebanon, at a meeting held for my opponent, one of the speakers, inveighing against Musmanno, exclaimed, "We can't send an Italian to the Senate." I was defeated in the primaries by 491 votes and there are certainly more than 491 bigots in Pennsylvania. Mr. Matthews refers to Clark's question about my birthplace, but he does not correct the implication I was born in Italy, although Matthews, being a Pittsburgher, knows very well the historical fact I was born only five miles from Pittsburgh.

Indeed, Mr. Matthews compounded Clark's offense by stating, "There was some reasonableness behind the questions," and then goes on to say that "the justice always has tried to conceal his age, birth records are not available." This is sheerly ridiculous. The place and date of my birth appear in court, municipal, church and military records. My name has always been Musmanno, although, when my father came to this country, his first employer on the railroad tracks, left off the "O" in recording the name. At the first opportunity I corrected the spelling of the name.

Mr. Matthews says that "from 1951 to 1963 Musmanno was under suspension by the American Bar Association for running for nonjudicial office while a member of the Allegheny

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County Common Pleas Court." This is untrue. In 1952 I voluntarily resigned from the American Bar Association and voluntarily rejoined it in 1963.

In 1936 I noted with alarm the heavy toll of life and limb being taken by drunken drivers on the highways of Allegheny County. I noted also that judges were entirely too lenient in sentencing drunken drivers. Rarely was one sent to jail. When I became presiding judge of the criminal courts I declared that every proved drunken driver would go to jail. I adhered to that policy and in five months' time jailed 413 drunken drivers. Drunken driving on the streets of Pittsburgh was reduced by 65 percent. Mr. Matthews said: "He [Musmanno] had decided that anyone who had a drink and drove was Public Enemy No. 1, intoxicated or not." I never said or implied anything to that effect. I never penalized a driver who was not proved in court to have been *intoxicated at the wheel.*

Matthews stated "Justice Musmanno's political campaign literature always proclaims that he was a hero in both World Wars." This is sheer invention. The military facts are: I enlisted in the US Naval Militia when I was 18; I served in World War I as an infantryman but did not get overseas; in World War II, I entered as a lieutenant commander, was promoted to full commander and then captain and finally retired with the rank of rear admiral in the Reserves. I never claimed I was a hero, but I am not ashamed that I was twice wounded in action, that I commanded a vessel that was sunk by enemy fire and was in the water for several hours before being rescued, and that I was decorated with the Purple Heart with Oak Leaf Cluster, Bronze Star for Meritorious Service in Combat, Legion of Merit, Navy Expert Pistol Shot, Marine Good Conduct Medal and was awarded other medals for service above and beyond the call of duty.

Mr. Matthews says the Army "spent eight months seeking his relief from that [Army] duty." This is absolute fancy woven from the loom of Matthews' conceit. Brigadier General Edgar Erskine Hume, who was my commanding officer all the time I was in Italy, declared in an official report on August 7, 1946, that, "According to Army standards, Commander Musmanno is entitled to a rating of Superior, the highest of the five categories, for his overseas tour of duty." General Mark W. Clark, on whose staff I served, conferred on me the Army Commendation Ribbon.

Matthews' trifling manner in going about research can best be illustrated by his referring to the illustrious and former Pennsylvania Supreme Court Chief Justice Horace Stern as being dead. The honored former Chief Justice Stern is alive and practicing law in Philadelphia. I called him on the telephone to tell him of Matthews' statement. He laughed and said: "I wonder where he got the idea."

Matthews even attempted to defame me in my court work. Because I wrote some opinions upholding conviction of lawbreaking communists he said: "His many court crusades against communists have achieved little but fracture of due process and headlines for himself." I quote from former US Supreme Court Justice Tom C. Clark: "His [Musmanno's] dedication to the administration of justice and to mankind in general has long been an example to many." US Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas spoke of Musmanno as "a man who has dedicated his years to the cause of equal justice for all." Edward W. Kuhn, former president of the American Bar Association, said: "I have heard of the Justice's achievements on the Supreme Court in Pennsylvania and he has through the years acted in a most dignified and judicial manner."

And with these quotations, I rest my case.

Michael A. Musmanno
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Deferential Regulators

Sirs:

The New Republic for February 3, 1968, contains an editorial labeled "Deferential Regulators" which refers to certain actions of the Federal Communications Commission. The facts stated in that editorial are wrong.

Your editorial regarding the use of a single emergency telephone number that can be used anywhere in the country states, "in heroic and solitary

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defiance the FCC opposed the single-number notion. . . ." The editorial refers to the FCC statement of November 8th to the Congress.

The facts are that prior to November 8, as a representative of the Commission, I had started talking to the top officials of AT&T very strongly urging the adoption of such a single emergency number. Because of genuine and formidable difficulties it was considered unwise to make any public promise of achievement within a specified time. However, the November 8 statement to Congress by the FCC stated: "Commissioner Loevinger, the Defense Commissioner, has discussed this matter with the Chairman of the Board, the President, and a Vice President of AT&T, and several possible methods of improving service in this respect have been considered." Both before and after the date of this memorandum I had a number of discussions with the officials of AT&T mentioned and took a very strong position in support of "the single-number notion." I was given the assurance of the AT&T officials that they would undertake promptly to devise a method of offering such a service throughout the country. We anticipated that this might be done by the spring of 1968. The company was able to solve the technical problems more quickly and advised the FCC on January 11 that it had been able to design such a system and was prepared promptly to announce it publicly. This was thoroughly discussed on January 11 by Chairman Hyde and myself on behalf of the FCC, other government officials and company representatives, and we were quite prepared for the public announcement on January 12.

Your editorial says that our Public Information Office was informed "barely in time . . . to get out a release. . . ." The fact is that the release was prepared the preceding day and a press briefing was arranged and held in advance of the release, indicating that this was not a hurried matter but one prepared well ahead of time.

The editorial also mentions the proposed ABC-ITT merger and says that "the Commission had endeavored earnestly to shield from Justice Department attack" this merger. The facts are that the Commission asked, invited and urged comment on the merger by the Antitrust Division, starting shortly after applications for approval were filed. The Commission actually deferred its own action waiting for Antitrust Division comment and continued to request and urge such comment. The Antitrust Division made no legal attack on the merger until *after* the Commission had issued its decision in the matter. As an examination of Commission opinions and orders will disclose the Commission complained only of the laggard steps taken by the Antitrust Division in that proceeding, not of its participation or position.

Lee Loevinger
FCC Commissioner

In reply . . .

Commissioner Loevinger's "facts" do not contradict our editorial. He does not deny that until its January 12 press release lauding AT&T's accession to the single emergency number concept, the FCC's public posture was antagonistic to the proposal. Its November 8 response to congressional inquiry refused to endorse the House Resolution which advocated installation of a single number system; the Commission's letter bristled with arguments calculated to discourage interest in the idea. Commissioned Loevinger informed the Committee that the FCC and AT&T were considering methods of improving *generally* "the usefulness of the telephone to secure assistance in various types of emergencies. . . ." The context of this remark makes it perfectly obvious that the Commission meant methods *other than* the specific proposal contained in the Resolution. Loevinger's objection is, in effect, that while publicly opposing the proposal, he *privately* urged AT&T brass to adopt it. Assuming the veracity of his version of these private conversations, the argument places Commissioner Loevinger and those of his colleagues who were also involved squarely in the role of surrogate lawyer for Bell – publicly fending off congressional moves hostile to his clients' interests, privately urging capitulation when defeat appears inevitable. And as for the Commissioner's *post-mortem* on ABC-

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ITT, the "facts" are that the FCC first approved the merger at 10 a.m. December 21, 1966, which barely gave the Commissioners time to read Assistant Attorney General Turner's letter which arrived at 6 p.m. the night before, urging them to investigate more extensively the combination's "anticompetitive possibilities."

The Editors

The Dollar Is Not Dead

Sirs:

Professor Triffin has sounded the death knell for the dollar as an international reserve asset ("Neither Gold Nor the Dollar," January 27). He notes that foreign countries converted $4.6-billion of their reserve gains and outstanding currency holdings into gold and claims on the International Monetary Fund from January 1965 through June 1967 and concludes that the dollar is through.

It is true that the US and the world as a whole must objectively examine the future role of the dollar in planning the reforms which must be made in the international monetary system and which are already underway. The dollar, however, is not yet as moribund as Professor Triffin would have us believe.

France, whose "concern" about the dollar is hardly economic, alone accounted for $1.8 billion of the dollar conversions. Another $0.8 billion was by other countries which have never financed their surpluses in dollars and therefore indicates only that the constellation of world payments imbalances had moved temporarily in their favor. About $1 billion of the "conversions" into IMF claims were related to the huge UK borrowings from that institution. An additional few hundred million dollars can be traced to miscellaneous factors equally unrelated to concern about the dollar, such as gold purchases by central banks from their domestic producers. Thus the vast bulk of the "conversions" represented either routine developments or political mischief.

Of the total US gold loss of $2.5 billion in this period, $2.1 billion went to the few "gold bloc" countries. About $250 million financed our 1965 quota increase at the IMF and some of the rest met particular foreign needs unrelated to confidence in the dollar. Thus only a very small part of our gold sales reflected any international worries about our currency. Dollar holdings of monetary authorities outside the "gold bloc" *rose* by about $2.5 billion during this period. Dollar holdings of private foreigners climbed by another $2.8 billion. Figures are not yet available on the destination of our large gold losses in late 1967 but the bulk of them apparently went into the London market to meet *private* demand.

Professor Triffin is certainly right in concluding that an international solution to the present international problem, which will require cooperation between Continental Western Europe and ourselves, is required. But it is not yet time to conclude that the dollar can play no role in that solution.

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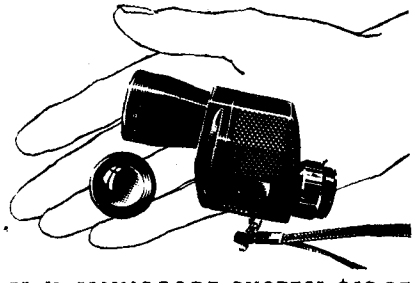

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Stripped Bare at the Follies

Sirs:

I am very sympathetic to the viewpoint expressed by Robert Coles in his article, "Stripped Bare at the Follies" (January 20). Further, I appreciate what is presumed to be the positive intent of his remarks concerning my book, *Christmas in Purgatory*. Unfortunately, the author's statements about my book are almost totally erroneous. I do agree with him that it is possible to view *The Titticut Follies* as a "whitewash job" after reading *Christmas in Purgatory*. However, in contradiction to Dr. Coles, the patients I photographed were not mental patients but were mentally retarded; every photograph I published of patients in so-called back wards had their anonymity protected through "masking" procedures that disguised their true identities, neither the names of individuals, institutions or states where pictures of back wards were photographed are ever mentioned in my book; the undisguised pictures of residents of The Seaside, the contrast institution, were published with the written permission of each parent or legal guardian of every such institutionalized resident photographed. . . .

Burton Blatt, Ed. D.
Assistant Commissioner for Mental Retardation
Commonwealth of Massachusetts
Boston

Kauffmann, *from page 24*

ample lady pose on a revolving turntable as Adam and Eve, etc. – a touch that both conveys and mocks lubricity. When Ahmed gets drunk, Makavejev follows him with a hand held camera; it is the only time he uses this device and thus there is some sense in it, for once. The very last shot in the film, after Ahmed's arrest, is of the front of the resort hotel where once they had been happy, as we hear an East German Party song on the soundtrack – a record that had been sent Ah-

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med by some friends and which he had played there on their "honeymoon." The contrast between his rigidity and her fluidity, of which this last moment reminds us, in a strange way makes us feel more confident. If there are elements in human behavior that can never be controlled or predicted, then we can acknowledge them and not be depressed by them. Ahmed will still be murdering Isabela in any society we can dream of; so we can just take that for granted and get on about our business of revision or revolution or research or relaxation, whatever our bent happens to be.

A Hungarian actress named Eva Ras, plain of face and enchanting of smile, is completely winning as Isabela. It is quite pertinent to this film of contradictions that her body is, literally, surprisingly beautiful when she undresses. Ahmed is played with fit stolidity by Slobodan Aligrudic, a name I have not invented. It is also relevant that this film runs only 70 minutes. Many "new" films seem interminable – endless wandering through streets, pointless conversations, pauses meant to be pregnant that are usually virgin. Makavejev has made every second of his 70 minutes count. The result is optimal: his film is never tedious and yet it is long enough to be satisfying.

At the other end of the film spectrum is Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* with Richard Burton, the Oxford University Dramatic Society, and the body of Elizabeth Taylor. (She walks through a number of times, without speaking.) I didn't expect this to be a good film, cinematically, and I wasn't disappointed. I had read of Burton's appearance in the play with the OUDS and went to see this film record of the event because I was curious about his performance. It is poor. In the past he has shown a real affinity for verse and some knowledge of how to speak it (though not in his Broadway Hamlet). He has become appallingly lazy. Here he relies on his past experience to carry him through, rather than on rigorous and thoughtful preparation. There is very little modeling of line, just some surface facility. It is as if an experienced Mozart pianist simply hadn't bothered to study the Mozart sonata that he is now playing for us.

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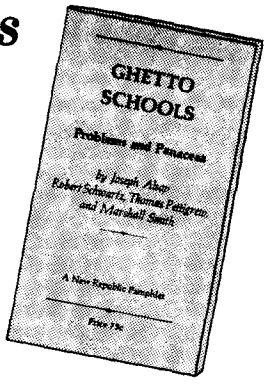
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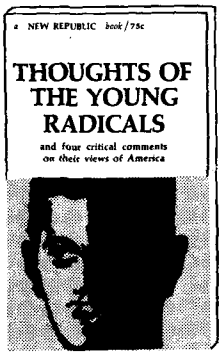

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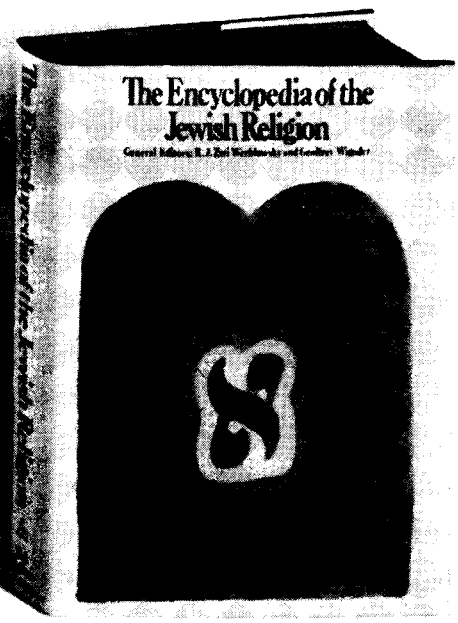

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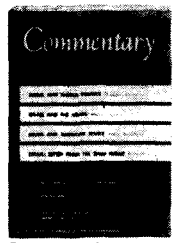

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